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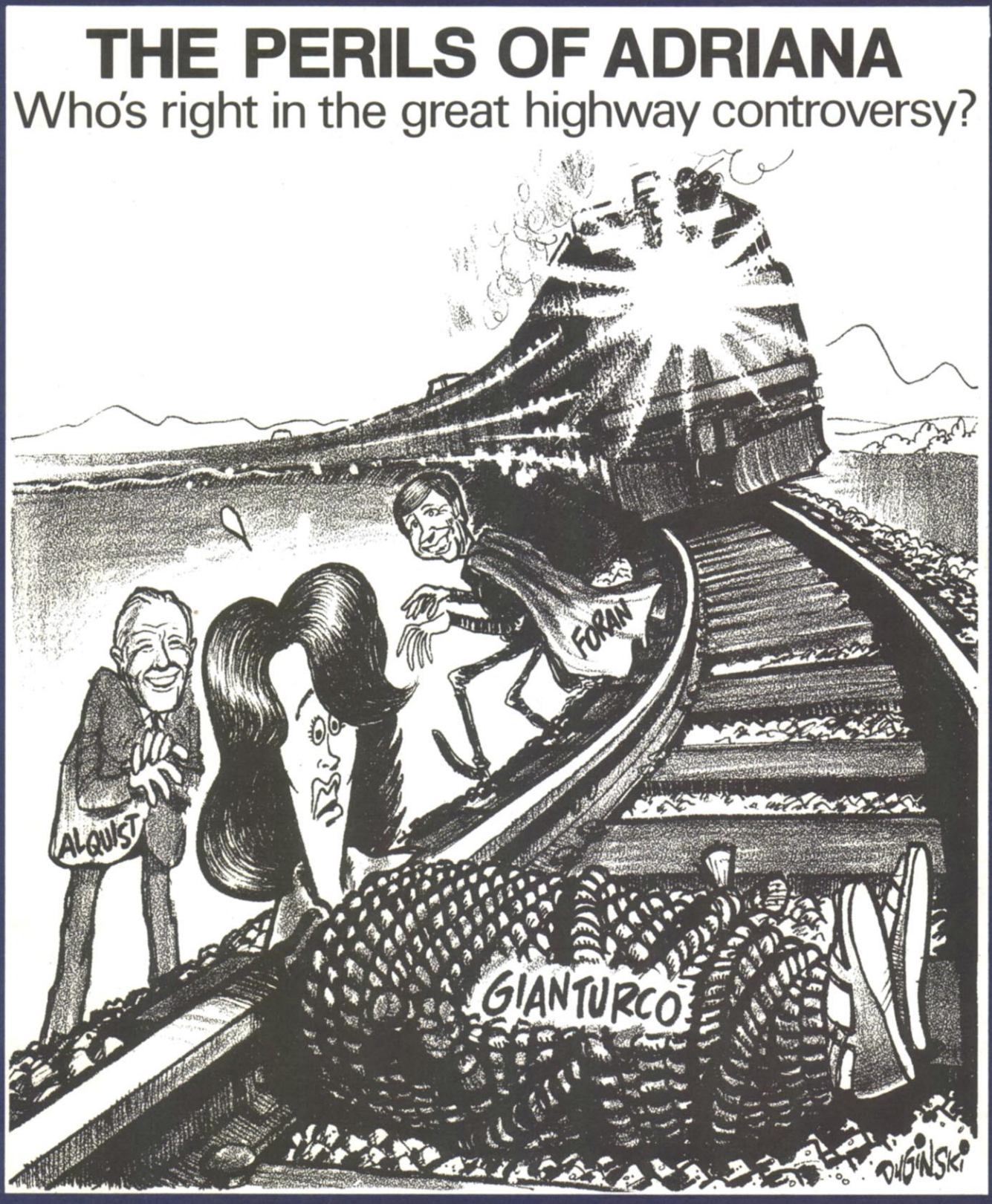
THE PERILS OF ADRIANA

Who's right in the great highway controversy?



SPECIAL SECTION

Guide to legislative campaign contributions

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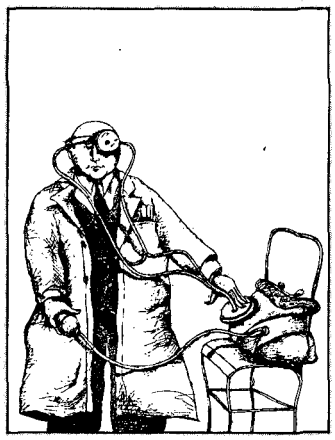
Personal
PERSPECTIVE
By Ed Salzman

Meet Hood Robin



For the wrong reason, the Legislature has taken a significant step toward the establishment of justice in the state Medi-Cal program. Ever since the state system for providing medical care for the poor was created, this question has been asked: Why should taxpayers provide a more generous health-care system for the poor than they get themselves?

In theory, the Medi-Cal system is supposed to put those on welfare (plus others at the bottom of the income ladder) in the "mainstream" of the health-care system. In reality, those on welfare have been placed in the upper crust of the system, able to get nearly any form of medical attention, with the bill going to the taxpayers. And there was almost no limitation on which doctors, clinics or hospitals they had to use.

This year the Legislature found itself short of funds — compliments of Proposition 13 — and was willing to experiment. Among other things, lawmakers explored ways of helping to provide modest cost-of-living increases for doctors, hospitals and other Medi-Cal providers. So it adopted a Hood Robin scheme — taking money from the poor who use the Medi-Cal system and giving it to the physicians, pharmacists and other providers. Now, the reforms will require Medi-Cal recipients to pay $1 virtually every time they get a prescription or visit a doctor's office. And the fee will rise to $5 for every emergency-room visit. The goal is to cut down marginal use of the system and to discourage Medi-Cal recipients from using the emergency facilities for routine medical problems.

This co-payment system was tried during the Reagan years and was abandoned as an administrative headache. But the Kaiser plan has been using the token-fee system for many years with success. There is nothing wrong with the concept — only the execution.

Likewise, there is nothing wrong with the notion of making maximum use of health-maintenance organizations if it is done right. The state tried to get Medi-Cal patients into these collectives during the Reagan years, but the legislation was badly written and some wheeler-dealers ripped off both the state and the patients. Health-insurance plans with strict limitation on use (and with co-payment in some cases) are used by most Californians who work for a living. The employer (and in some cases the employee as well) knows exactly how much the plan will cost each month and what the benefits are. Why can't the state put those on Medi-Cal into the mainstream of the California health-care system by giving them the same benefits — and no more? Those who work for a living often have no choice of health plans. They get what the firm offers or pay their own bills.

If the state were to purchase Kaiser, Ross-Loos, Blue Cross, Blue Shield and other plans for those on Medi-Cal, there would no longer be any need to engage in Hood Robin gymnastics to balance the budget and get Medi-Cal costs under control. And the administrative costs of the program would plummet. All that would be needed would be for the state to negotiate contracts with each plan each year and then give each recipient a choice of plan for that year.

The Hood Robin tactic may be the beginning of the end for upper crust health-care status for those enrolled in the Medi-Cal system.

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Try to use the current state telephone directory to reach Bill Cecil, 1980 Assembly candidate and employee of the state Board of Equalization. You find that he is unknown at the listed number. You try the board's information office. You get an obsolete number. You try the personnel office. You get another old number, but you get referred to another division. No luck again. Finally you discover that he is in the legal division — but doesn't yet have his own phone.

Governor Brown's office in the state's new energy-efficient office building is called the 'summer palace."

Supervisor Pete Schabarum of Los Angeles sent out a press release announcing that he would "officially open" the new Whittier Narrows Frisbee Disc Golf Course and that the star of the show would be "Ashley Whippet, the three-time World K-9 Catch and Fetch Champion."

Why do so many attorney-legislators seek appointments as judges? One answer: Upon being sworn into office, the new judge gets immediate credit for all his or her years of legislative service — in the highly advantageous judges' retirement plan.

Soundalikes: Actress Patti Davis (Reagan) and Jane Fonda.

Here's a report on some of the fictional bills submitted by readers as a result of last month's Up Front column:

From Jay Malinowski of Los Angeles — The Doolittle Marks "deface-a-wall, go-to-jail" act.

From Gregg Williams of Paso Robles — The Costa-Marks international currency stabilization act.

From Jon Mayhew of Sacramento — The Farr-Wright political indoctrination act.

From Cedro Wooly, Alison Harvey and Elizabeth Jonas of Sacramento — The Farr-Hart natural gas control act. The Elder-Feland older persons oral sex act, and The Agnos-Moorhead character actress act.

(From Janet Robinson, Evan Kaizer and Mike O'Connor of Sacramento — and several others — a variety of bills dealing with Dills pickles and Katz pets.) Have you had enough?

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Modern-day Matt Dillons have more problems than their early counterparts – but also more political strength.

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Campaign costs set new records every election; lawmakers spend more time raising money than ever before. In this special section, California Journal *editor Ed Salzman analyzes the likely effects of this growing Arms Race and details which special interests gave how much money to every state legislator elected last year.*

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When the next major earthquake hits, Californians won't have time to ask why officials didn't plan ahead for it.

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STRICTLY OPINION

*With this column, the **Journal** provides a forum for those wishing to express opinions on California political issues. Inquiries about future columns are encouraged.*

Flack like me

By ED GOLDMAN

I first became a city public information officer in 1974.

To many reporters, I'm sure that opening statement is akin to the first line of an Edgar Allen Poe story: Presumably, what follows should be a lurid account of the narrator's descent into madness, Hell, redemption and the wearing of white shoes. Or maybe just a contemporary retelling of a John Milton classic: *Paradise Sold Out.*

Reporters who may be anticipating a confessional piece — along the lines of, "I Was Trapped in a News Conference But Now I'm Up for Immediate Release" — should brace themselves for some disappointment.

Information officers anxiously awaiting a florid defense of a field I refuse to consider scientific are similarly warned: The following paragraphs are being written by a former reporter who still writes on the side and would still prefer being locked in a roomful of hostile reporters to standing around at a cocktail party with a gaggle of endlessly cheerful flacks.

I don't feel that becoming a PIO (the commonest acronym for my job, and certainly the most polite) is on a par with obtaining a degree in Pariahhood. I'm tempted to point out that very few California cities and *no* state agency are without the position anymore, although this is a quasi-populist logic that, by extension, could apply to television shows. That is, *LaVerne and Shirley* is watched by millions of people each week; ergo, it is of high artistic quality, can teach us many things and contains essential vitamins and minerals for building strong bodies.

As you know, PIOs are not viewed with universal favor. In fact, the only time some government officials give serious consideration to their agency's PIO is during increasingly routine searches for budget cuts. While we are the people who, when we're doing our jobs well, can best inform the public of our agency's financial situation, we are considered expendable. Even the ancient Greeks came to recognize the folly of killing the messenger when the news was unpleasant.

Sometimes, the people we work around on a daily basis are similarly skeptical. The in-house "PR-types," as we're sometimes called, are seen as leading cushy, undemanding existences. If we're caught rummaging through the newspaper — a necessary task, even though it's generally enjoyable — the skepticism increases. When we chat with local broadcasters, whom we know on a first-name basis (big deal) and when we hurry off to social events (which we probably organized in the first place), we continue to raise bureaucratic eyebrows.

Well, let's face it: Being a PIO is, 75 percent of the time, fun. (There! I've said it!) Often at the center of a political fray or on the fringes of our elected officials' sporadic stardom, we *do* have more opportunities to act like big shots than do the folks who plan the budgets, trim the trees, draw the subdivision maps or pick up the garbage. We take calls from household names, we get to make official statements to the media and we go to more breakfast, lunch and dinner meetings than the public-works director might.

But we are also blamed if the local media run a story that tends not to flatter our agency. If the balloons pop during a building dedication we planned, it's our fault. When a TV reporter calls us to find out what's on our agency's public-meeting agenda for that night — even though the reporter has a copy of the agenda but simply hasn't bothered to read it or is incapable of rendering a news judgment on what's worth covering because he or she is not regularly assigned to our agency's beat — and we respond by asking, "What, specifically, are you interested in?", we are characterized as being uncooperative and lazy.

Every day, millions of pages of government reports on topics sometimes relevant, often useless, are produced. But when a PIO decides to produce an attractive little pamphlet summarizing the agency's budget in lay terms, he or she must answer charges of wasting the taxpayer's money on a so-called "frill" item. (By the way, in the city of Sacramento, Proposition 13 signalled a new era of austere, Xerox-copied, aesthetically awful printed materials. My favorite tune since then has been, "The Frill Is Gone.")

Most PIOs write the speeches that make their bosses sound terribly articulate, surprisingly witty or hopelessly vague. We write those official little proclamations for damned near anybody who wants one — a simple task that seems to mean a great deal to the receiver, for reasons that continue to elude me. We write those official letters stating our agency's position on this or that matter, and sometimes the statements of philosophy that the elected officials read into the record just so that there's no doubt where he/she stands on a given issue. In fact, we're quoted a lot in the newspapers, even when our words are credited to an elected or appointed official or "a well-placed source." In my two years with the city of Lakewood and four-plus years with Sacramento, I have been a well-placed source, a source close to the mayor, a City Hall insider and a usually reliable staffer. Surprisingly, I never ask reporters to quote me blindly; sometimes, however, a reporter does not wish his or her editor to know that the source on an important story was someone who, the theory goes, is paid to say only nice things. Pariah indeed!

When I began my tenure as a PIO, I used to imagine that I was still a working journalist, albeit a better-paid (usually), less autonomous one. I've given up on that; the fact is, I am a dispenser of information, a phrasemaker, the closest thing to a resident writer that government allows.

PIOs serve a useful function. That, of course, is a self-serving statement. Because when Proposition 9 loomed on the horizon in June 1980, I was a scheduled budget cut. I may find myself on the same precipice again someday. It's come to be an occupational hazard. Less adventurous than covering a war for a national wire service, I'll grant you. But, in terms of survival, only a bit less harrowing.

Ed Goldman, former public information officer for the city of Sacramento, is the director of community affairs for the UC Davis Medical Center.

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Lawmaker target number 1: CalTrans boss Gianturco

By DANIEL J. BLACKBURN

Somewhere between the seminary and the statehouse, it occurred to Jerry Brown that he was surrounded by many, many automobiles — too many, perhaps. And the day would come when he would muse aloud about his visions of a carless California, an example to the world of transit efficiency.

Brown's perceptions were buttressed by his acceptance of the imminence of gas shortages, inflation, higher building and labor costs and shrinking revenue pools. He would govern through a period of significant change in popular transportation habits; the kind of time when a young politician could get hurt, badly.

To run his interference through the blacktop minefield which lay ahead, Brown selected Adriana Gianturco, a tall woman who was midway through her 30s when she became director of the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) in 1976. She clings today to her job, tenaciously, tenuously — a situation that enrages some people and amazes most. She has been the architect of Brown's plan to mold stark reality into his vision, and has also been the messenger of ill tidings for the state's highway builders. Gianturco has been pummelled so hard by some members of the Legislature that she calls meetings with them "a horrible experience for any human being to go through." She commands the state's largest single department, its ranks replete with insurrection during the laborious policy changes and reranking of priorities that have occurred under her direction. She is presiding over the end of an era, trying to manage the unmanageable, and making few friends in the process.

When Gianturco took the reins of Caltrans, it was two years old, a product of legislation which mandated a department that encompassed highways, mass transit, aeronautics (a very limited function) and overall transportation planning. It was "in a state of absolute chaos" upon her arrival, she says, and her first job "was to rescue the department."

Her description of circumstances existing at that time is at least partly accurate. Caltrans came into being just as Ronald Reagan was winding up his tenure as governor; and the department was very slow to get reorganized. Layoffs of personnel and widespread resignations were cutting into the department's work force. There was no multi-year program of projects. Contracts were not being advertised because of a building moratorium.

Gianturco now points to Caltrans' "new organization" as one of her major accomplishments: "I think people forget the shape the department was in when I took over," she says. "Now we have an organized, orderly, aggressive transit program within Caltrans that we did not have before, and it's the kind of program that should survive through future administrations."

Even as she methodically ticks off her version of the positive accomplishments of Caltrans during her directorship, Gianturco wears the weary resignation of one who knows that she is damned for at least some circumstances beyond her control. The professional life of Adriana Gianturco has

Daniel J. Blackburn is a free-lance writer in Sacramento and a regular contributor to the Journal.

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collided head-on with coincidental, inevitable social change, and she's not sure whether she's been assigned the role of the cobra or the mongoose.

Numbered days?

A recent headline on a *Los Angeles Times* news story could have been written at any time during her five-year stint as Caltrans boss: "Are Gianturco's Days Numbered?" The query was prompted by several pieces of legislation aimed at eliminating her from the state scene. One of these bills would have cut her salary from the budget and forbidden its payment from state funds. It sprang from the Senate with a roar but ended with a whimper: Department funds will pay the tab for her services through October, and the governor's operating budget will cover the rest of the year. Another anti-Gianturco bill — to require Caltrans' chief and district directors to be licensed civil engineers — failed to get the two-thirds Senate vote required.

Lawmakers who dislike Gianturco have found another way of underlining their feelings to Governor Brown: The Senate Rules Committee held up for several months the confirmation of Lynn Schenk as secretary of Business and Transportation, pending her pledge that she would fire the outspoken Gianturco upon assuming office. Schenk was finally confirmed in late June, despite her insistence that the Caltrans director would, indeed, stay on the job.

It probably matters not who sits in Gianturco's chair, because implicit in the job description is total support of Jerry Brown's heartfelt belief that the automobile is an endangered species. From this concept emerges a whole new transportation scene, because if one believes (as Brown does) that the future holds fewer automobiles operated at higher costs, then it makes little sense to continue the helter-skelter freeway and highway construction that has for many years enriched the lives of so many. But even to speak of such things hits deep in the pockets of the construction lobby. Howl as they might, the builders cannot lay this phenomenon at the feet of Jerry Brown. Despite his claims to the contrary, it was a combination of external factors that forced down the flaps on the high-flying freeway machine rather than any series of management decisions. It was inflation, which rose far beyond the grimmest planning prognosis. It was a rapid, almost uncontrollable spurt in material and labor costs. It was increased competition from local governments for project money. It was the explosion in gasoline prices, and the generally higher costs of maintaining the auto.

These interrelated occurrences were simply drawing down the curtain on a California way of life that had lived long and prosperous years. Once Brown made transportation policy an issue, though, he accepted simultaneously the credit and the blame for a changing social trend. Now he is on trial for the wanton killing of many a fat construction contract.

A major factor in the transportation equation is the extraordinary cost of maintaining and renovating existing highways, freeways and roadways. One of the most complex, extensive and expensive road systems in the world, California's was built on the assumption — now proved wrong — that both money and favorable political climates would be available when maintenance time rolled around. Emphasis was on new construction; maintenance and alternative forms of transit were ignored in the rush to pave.

Legislators like big public works projects in their districts. Once finished, a dam, a new bulding or a new stretch of highway each provides a ribbon-cutting ceremony and an opportunity to impress constituents. Trifling with the pork barrel has proven risky for the woman from Caltrans. Having grown used to getting construction projects for the asking, many lawmakers do not like getting "no" for an answer. And that's the word heard most often when inquiries of that nature are directed at Gianturco.

An effort to assess the performance of the former Bostonian is like putting a bloodhound on the trail of an eagle: Even if it's all done right, it's just not going to work. She has done well if one believes (as she says she does) that spending for highway maintenance and renovation must take precedence over new road construction, and that transit methods augmenting automobile use must be developed. She has failed badly if one believes that proper management would allow adequate funds for all transportation needs, and that new road construction has fallen far behind important schedules as existing funds, unspent, wither before persistent inflation.

Credit and blame

One who subscribes to the latter view is state Senator John F. Foran of San Francisco, chairman of the Senate Transportation Committee. Foran, an unabashed supporter of high construction levels, grudgingly concedes that Caltrans "has put a significant amount of money into maintenance" during Gianturco's time.

"Out of fairness," Foran says, "I have to say that they (the Brown Administration and Gianturco) came in at a time when the fat budgets of highway (construction) were starting to come down. You can't blame everything on them. You can't blame them for inflation or the decline in (gasoline) consumption. You can blame them for those projects that were delayed while they looked for an alternative, which in turn drove the price upward and maybe priced it (the project) out of the market."

Nevertheless, Foran is prompt when asked if Gianturco has done a good job in a tough situation: "No," he says, even before the question is completed. "I disagree very strongly with all of the policies that she has had since she's been in office; it's been one of foot-dragging, of placing obstacles in the path of needed highway construction. That's wrong, and it's cost us a lot of money (in matching federal funds)."

Gianturco doesn't drag her feet in coming to her own defense: In a recent Orange County speech, she cited myriad federal regulations impeding highway construction in this state, including a federal sanction (affecting six major regions of California) against all highway construction except that related to safety or mass transit. Air pollution is the culprit, says Gianturco, and adds that $9 billion worth of highway projects that otherwise would have gone to bid for construction, have been held up by the federal government.

But even without federal delays, she wouldn't be building more roads. "New freeways will be few and far between," she says. "California's basic highway network is essentially complete, and our efforts are now focused on plugging gaps, not creating them."

The numbers appear to support Gianturco's assertion that highways still are top priority. The department's budget of $1.9 billion allocates almost all ($1.7 billion) to highways. (About $700 million is federal aid.) Thin by comparison are the budgets for mass transit ($127 million) and aeronautics ($7 million). Most of the department's 14,000 employees are highway-oriented.

Disagreement arises when the use of that $1.7 billion highway item is at issue. Nearly the same amount of money is spent for new facilities as for maintenance, and more is spent on new projects than on rehabilitation and operational improvements. But that doesn't satisfy the construction industry, which is finding it tough to come down from the rarified, "sky's-the-limit" years of freeway building.

Gianturco points to the two major factors that she says mandate the department's new direction, toward maintenance and away from new construction:

- "The dollars we have today will buy only one-third

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of what they would buy seven years ago," she says, singling out inflation as the primary villain.

● The energy crunch has aggravated road building in several ways. "New highway construction is highly energy-intensive, uses very little labor and a lot of heavy, oil-guzzling equipment. In addition, many . . . building materials, particularly asphalt, are themselves petroleum products, and their prices have been rising much faster than the prices of others goods.

"At the time of the Arab oil embargo almost eight years ago, we experienced run-away highway construction cost increases, and at that time we began to think very seriously about reorienting our spending to get the maximum bang for the buck."

year "State Transportation Improvement Program" (STIP). The department's budget is appropriated annually by the Legislature and includes both capital and non-capital items, with heavy emphasis on capital expenditures. The budget does not contain specific legislative mandates for specific projects; instead, it is divided into the eight individual elements of rehabilitation, operational improvements, local assistance, program development, new facilities, administration, operations and maintenance.

Once adopted, the budget is passed on to the California Transportation Commission which then determines which projects will be built. The commission, a new creation under Governor Brown, was a legislative response to Gianturco's "foot-dragging" on project funding. It replaced the old California Highway Commission which was primarily advisory in nature.

Photos by Chris Van Overloop

But the apparent attention being lavished on highway maintenance and rehabilitation is not meeting with great success, says another Gianturco critic, state Senator Al Alquist, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee: "What was once the finest highway department in the world is now a shambles," Alquist said recently. Hyperbole notwithstanding, Alquist's views are shared by a substantial number of people. (On the Assembly side, Gianturco's most vocal critic is Assemblyman Walter Ingalls of Riverside.)

Keeping up with wear

By contrast, two surveys, financed and conducted by Caltrans, provide evidence that the road repair program is, in fact, keeping up with wear. William Schaffer, the department's deputy of maintenance and operations, claims the program for which he is responsible "is keeping the state highway system essentially in the same shape," no better and no worse than it has been for the past several years.

The department has been spending about $30 million per year (in 1980 dollars) for the past three years for maintenance of pavement. It plans to continue at that level for the remainder of the current Caltrans planning program, with appropriate adjustments for inflation. A similar amount is being utilized for roadway rehabilitation.

So critics like Alquist say the system is in a "shambles;" Gianturco says everything is under control. Who is right? Apparently it is a matter of perspective. But one condition is undisputed: The methods of disbursing highway funds are so complex that they preclude any one person from having complete control over the direction of highway programs. Here is how decision-making occurs:

Provisions of legislation enacted three years ago require Caltrans to operate under two separate guidelines, one an annual budget like other state agencies, the other a five-

It actually is the commission that determines, within the fiscal restraints established by the budget, where the dollars go in the construction plan. All projects funded must conform to the STIP. Updated annually, the STIP is adopted by the commission following recommendations from both Caltrans and from regional planning agencies. The first year of the STIP contains the projects that will be carried out by the funds appropriated in the budget.

Caltrans' recommendations to the commission have followed the general lines of Gianturco's stated priorities: maintenance, rehabilitation, operational improvements to existing roads, and — in distant fourth position — new construction.

As the department prepares its annual pitch to the commission, it must take into account the law requiring that 60 percent of all highway funds be spent in Southern California, and 40 percent in the northern part of the state. Seventy percent of the highway capital fund allocation by law must be distributed by a predetermined formula between 12 statewide transportation districts. Federal aid, which matches state expenditures for almost all capital or construction projects, adds yet another layer of constraints.

Gianturco often points to the fact that Caltrans "is not the final decision maker on either the budget or the STIP," and notes that commission decisions "bear little resemblance to the priorities" that she has established within Caltrans.

Even as the squabble over highway funds drags on, the pool of money inexorably shrinks. According to a recent Senate Office of Research paper prepared by staffer Arthur E. Bauer, a huge cash deficit in the state's highway construction program will exist in five more years. "Depending on assumptions and the economy's performance, the deficit

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will be somewhere between $780 million and $2.4 billion," Bauer notified Senate Republicans in a memorandum. (Since that time, Bauer has become Foran's principal committee consultant in transportation.)

Dealing with the deficit

The deficit will be addressed by legislation this session, one piece by Foran, the other by Republican Assemblyman Charles Imbrecht of Ventura. In order to bolster the highway fund, Foran proposes an increase in the gas and diesel fuel tax from 7 to 9 cents per gallon at the pump, to be levied in 1983. Imbrecht's bill does not contain specific consumer tax increases but rather seeks other revenue sources such as truck weight fee hikes.

In addition to the 2-cent gas and diesel tax hike, Foran's bill would (like Imbrecht's proposal) increase truck weight fees, in a graduated manner, by 40 percent in 1982, 50 percent in 1983 and 60 percent thereafter. It would also increase substantially the driver's license, vehicle registration and other related fees. Foran estimates his bill will allow the collection of about $2 billion each year, with the bulk of that coming from higher truck weight fees. The gas tax would add another $286 million, according to figures developed by his own staff.

Foran, ever aware of Brown's no-new-tax pledge, does not anticipate big problems when — and if — his bill gets to the governor's desk. "He'll have to sign it," Foran predicts. But Gianturco questions the notion that inflation and other factors make a tax hike "inevitable." "That is a basic assumption that we must question," she says. "The feeling is not out there (in the public) that routinely, automatically, taxes have to be increased." Taxes could be justified, she says, only "if we can do more, and still keep up with inflation." She perceives "a much-needed discipline" having been imposed on highway spending by the lack of new taxes for transportation uses since 1963.

"The incentive for that discipline just would not have existed if the money supply had continued to expand," she says. "We have been forced to re-examine the kinds of things we are spending money on, and I think that's good."

Although she is careful when discussing Foran's SB215 in relation to any eventual administration position, Gianturco chides its supporters for what she calls their "proselytizing" on behalf of the proposal: "They have continually harped on the condition of roads. They have not said that the rationale for this bill is more money for new roads. They say the existing roads are deteriorating. Well, I take them at face value on that, and I'm going to recommend that the bulk of the revenues (raised by any such future tax) go into the rehab program, as opposed to new construction." Warming to her subject, Gianturco denounces what she calls "a major flaw in the bill:" It provides no money for transit planning and developments. That, she says is "an unforgivable omission."

Mass transit has a thin slice of the transportation fund, due partly to the locally owned and operated nature of most California transit systems. Caltrans, acting mainly in a support role for these systems, undertakes its own programs in intercity and commuter rail, intercity bus and acquisition of abandoned railroad rights-of-way.

Slender as it may be, the transit budget is near and dear to Gianturco's heart and to that of the governor. Both of them would like to see its level rise, allowing a heavier emphasis on alternatives to the automobile.

"If we are serious about our commitment to a balanced transportation program," she says, "any allocation of additional resources must include transit, especially given the need to conserve energy."

Gianturco doesn't expect much help from the Legislature in pursuing innovative transit. She admits to a basic difficulty in dealing with lawmakers: "My problem is that I am just out of tune with how the Legislature operates. As applied to the highway program, the legislative process seems to mean that if you want to get along — with certain legislators — you have to buy them off. . . literally, by agreeing to fund projects in the tens, maybe hundreds of millions of dollars. It's not a question of doing a little favor for a lawmaker by having a stop sign put up in his district, or patching up a pothole. That's a whole other order of political dealing."

Gianturco may have months remaining as Caltrans director — or she may have days. It doesn't really matter; her job is done. The smoothly polished machine that is the highway construction lobby is finding its own fate not unlike the auto itself: many years in the making, long, trouble-free operation, and then pow! Someone throws a wrench into the works.

When Jerry Brown's Sacramento stay is about over, Adriana Gianturco will head down that endless asphalt ribbon, the catcalls of developers fading into the distance. And her tool kit, the one with all the wrenches, will be just a little bit lighter.

Newsmakers

A criminal coverup?

The state Fair Political Practices Commission accused members of Governor Brown's staff of a coverup in connection with the alleged political misuse of a state computer. The commission called on district attorneys to investigate the case and for the State Bar to probe the governor's legal-affairs office headed by **Byron Georgiou** . . . A tax initiative sponsored by **Howard Jarvis** qualified for the June 1982 ballot. The measure would "index" the state income tax on a permanent basis . . . Chancellor **Glenn S. Dumke** of the State University and Colleges announced that he will retire next May on his 65th birthday.

Mayor **Daniel K. Whitehead** of Fresno, 32, indicated that he is planning to challenge Governor Brown in the Democratic primary next year for the United States Senate . . . Brown named veteran press aide and political strategist **Lucien C. Haas** as his director of programs and policy. Haas formerly worked for Senator Alan Cranston and the governor's father.

Other appointments by Governor Brown: **Patrick W. Henning,** son of state AFL-CIO leader John Henning, as state Labor Commissioner; **Manuel Val,** long-time state employee, as director of Veterans Affairs; former Assemblyman **Richard D. Hayden** of Sunnyvale and employment-for-the-handicapped specialist **Richard Chavez,** as members of the state Personnel Board; **Eduardo Sandoval,** head of the Mexican-American Political Association, as a member of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board.

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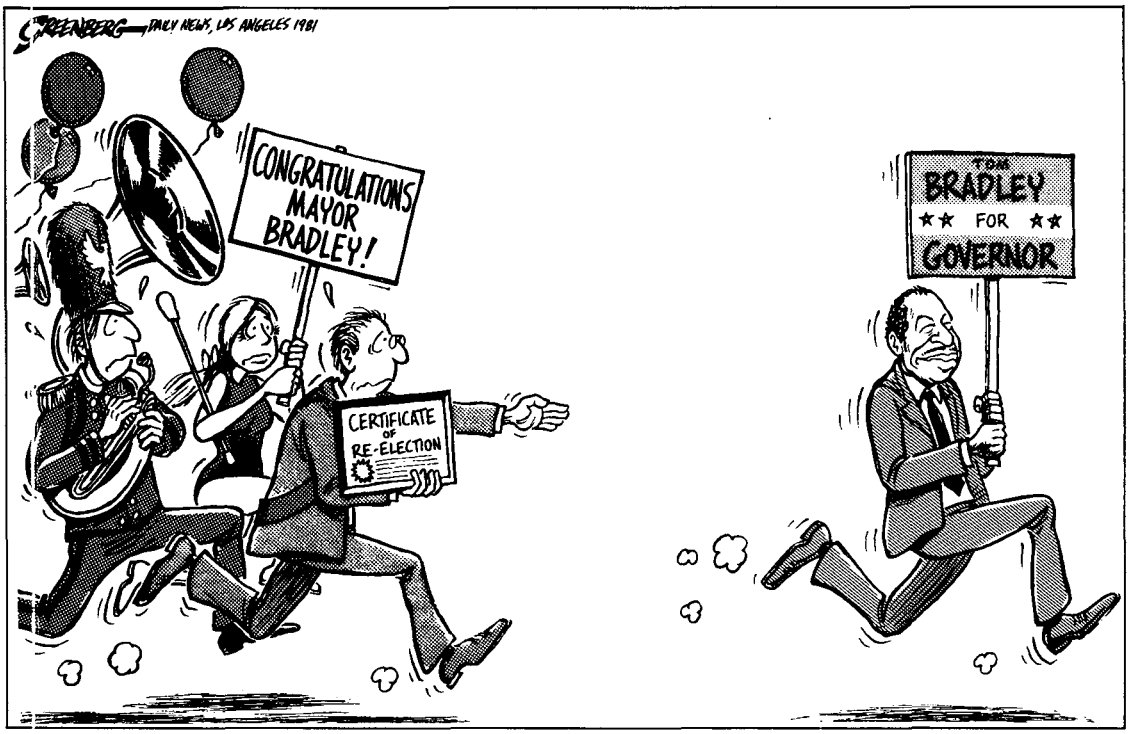
Tom Bradley's new image for the gubernatorial campaign



By MICHELE WILLENS

Tom Bradley, the popular mayor of Los Angeles, won a third term in April with a whopping margin (64 percent). The voting booths had barely been moved back to storage rooms before a team of Bradley aides were off and running toward the mayor's next goal: governor of California in 1982.

It is generally agreed that Bradley's opposition — former Mayor Sam Yorty — was a weak alternative in the mayoral campaign. But a truer indication of Bradley's popularity was the fact that a slew of mayoral hopefuls scattered as soon as they got the bad news that Bradley had chosen to run again.

Understandably, the mayor refused to discuss statewide aspirations during the local campaign, but persons around him were hardly subtle about his next move. Now, after his spectacular April showing, the mayor himself is letting slip frequent references to where he might be sitting in 1983.

"Obviously, we're very encouraged by the election results and by recent polling," says long-time Bradley campaign operative Nelson Rising. "And we expect to begin active discussions very soon."

The discussions have in fact already begun; the pieces of a Bradley-for-governor campaign are coming together. A steering committee of about 10 persons — including Tom Quinn, Richard Maullin, Sam Williams (the LA attorney who is perhaps Bradley's closest confidant), mayoral aide Fran Savitch and others — meets regularly to discuss the shape of things to come.

David Garth, a New York political media adviser who has always done Bradley's commercials, is on retainer to "Friends of Mayor Bradley" for $10,000 a month. Although his meetings with the mayor have been kept pretty quiet, there is already a noticeable difference in the public Tom Bradley: He seems more open and animated in his TV appearances.

"The Garth touch can already be seen," says one TV interviewer who notes that the mayor is speaking more openly and with less of the stiffness which has tended to give him a wooden-like image.

Bill Heckman, the man who ran Bradley's campaigns in 1973 and 1977, will almost certainly do so again this time around. He is already working every day at the "Friends" office. Heckman is a veteran of many campaigns, having spent most of last year working on Ted Kennedy's presidential effort. His relationship with the LA mayor is good, and their styles are similar: quiet, cautious — men who think a long time before they act.

There will be two other key figures in the Bradley campaign. Rising, who traditionally serves as "chairman," could have a sticky problem if former U.S. Senator John Tunney decides to challenge Bradley in the primary. Rising is an old friend of Tunney's and has run his Senate campaigns in the past. But Rising has made it pretty clear that his commitment to Bradley cannot be altered. The other key person is Phil Depoian, Bradley's top aide and alter ego. Depoian can be expected to take a leave of absence from City Hall to focus on the campaign.

"Phil is the glue for everyone," says former Bradley press

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secretary Bob Kholos, who will also likely be asked to join the campaign in some capacity. "He would be the one responsible for making sure everything works on the road. He has been the person closest to Tom since 1969, and he can anticipate him and support him more than anyone."

Making it official

One person close to Bradley says that an active Bradley-for-governor operation will be visible by September. Rising says they hope that an official announcement won't have to be made before the end of the year, but other advisers say there may be no choice. "If the Republican candidates are going full force by the end of the summer, Tom may have to make it official so as not to lose too much time," says one person close to the mayor.

As for money, Bradley ended his mayoral effort with a surplus of about $225,000. The campaign is prepared to spend $2 or $3 million to get to the state house.

Rising says Bradley's official decision will not be affected by what candidates emerge on the GOP side. "We've learned from experience that you shouldn't pick who you want to run against," he says. "After all, Pat Brown in 1966 said he wanted to run against 'that actor' (Ronald Reagan) instead of George Christopher. I hear a lot about (Lieutenant Governor) Mike Curb being easier for us to beat than (Attorney General) George Deukmejian, but the polls just don't show that. (A recent California Poll by Mervin Field showed Bradley 50-39 over Curb and 50-37 over Deukmejian.) And we consider Pete Wilson a formidable fellow too."

Another adviser close to Bradley says it is the inside feeling that Deukmejian would indeed be a tougher opponent "since he's been around a lot longer than Curb and would probably survive the test easier than Curb."

Bradley was only inaugurated in July, but his Los Angeles constituents seem resigned to the fact they could very well lose their mayor to statewide ambition. They don't seem to hold that ambition against him, and it certainly didn't affect their voting in April.

The Bradley strategists admit that the challenge of the campaign will be to spread his name and good image up the coast into Northern California. While they say polling shows his recognition factor gets weaker the further it gets from LA, they say it is still extremely high in the North. So too is his positive rating. Aides point proudly to one recent survey which showed Bradley beating both Curb and Deukmejian in Orange County, hotbed of conservatism.

The race issue

As for the possible injection of "race in the race" (Bradley would be the country's first black governor), those close to the mayor say they are confident it will not be an issue and that Bradley somehow towers above it anyway. Mike Curb, for one, says, "I certainly don't expect it to be an issue and I would hope we're way past that in this state."

In private discussions about possible Democratic opposition in the primary — either Tunney or Controller Ken Cory — Bradley strategists says they are confident that both men will be talked or scared out of the race by the end of next year — not only because Bradley is so popular, but because so many key operatives are already committed to him. Several advisers have urged Tunney to challenge Jerry Brown for the Senate nomination. They might even be willing to work against Brown, for whom they feel less than affection. Some of them would privately love to see the governor get some tough opposition from within his own party.

Another problem that a Democratic challenger of Bradley would face would be in convincing voters that he or she would fare better in the general election, without sounding racist. There is a feeling among many Democrats that Bradley may face tough going in November against a strong Republican, largely because of the race issue. But for a Democrat to say that could easily backfire.

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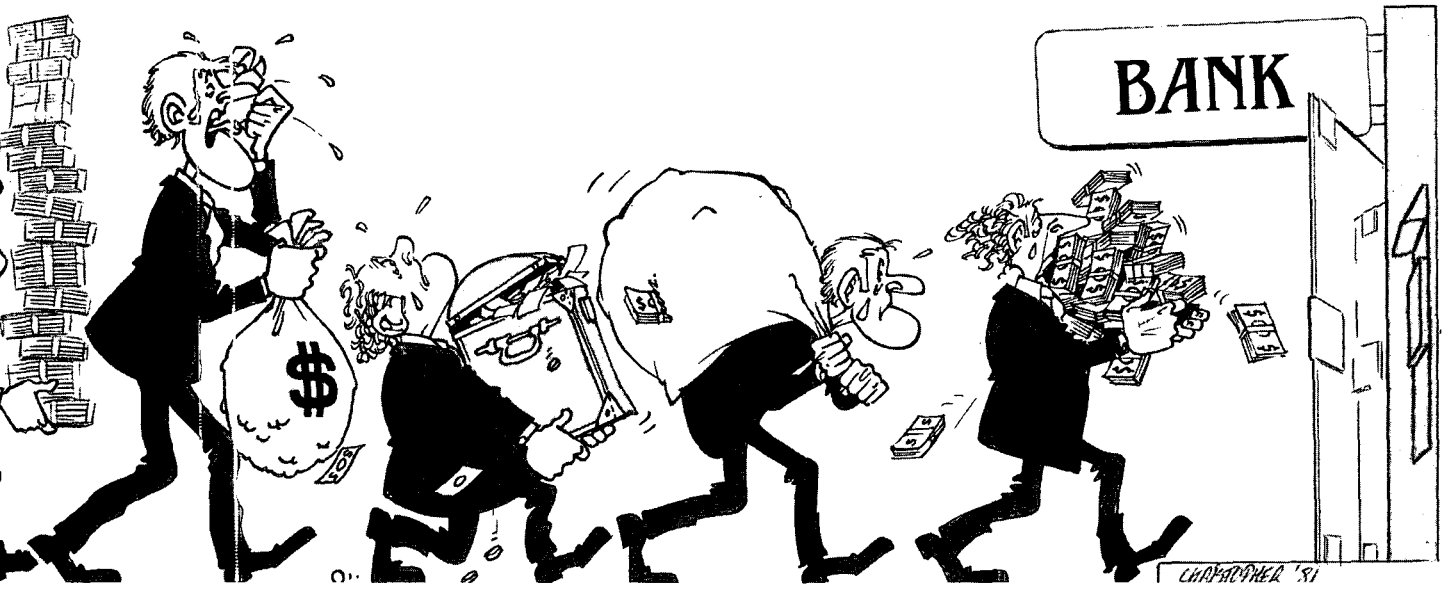
Why they're cheering the 'austerity' budget



By ED SALZMAN

If this year's state budget was so austere, as reported by the popular press, how come there are so many smiles on the faces of those who look to Sacramento for their annual nourishment? If this year's expenditure package is "the tightest in 30 years," as claimed by Governor Brown, why are so many members of the California government establishment eating and drinking at an Old Sacramento saloon called Fat City?

Measured against the 11 percent cost-of-living rate of the past year or the budgets of the recent era of the Golden Goose, the 1981-82 fiscal program is admittedly less than generous. But the 1970s were extraordinary years in which the state treasury was overloaded artificially with riches from the unintentional overtaxation of the Reagan Administration and boosted by skyrocketing inflation and the skinflint tendencies of Jerry Brown. This year's budget is close to normal by the standards of the pre-Golden Goose era.

The utterings from the Capitol might have led people to believe that Proposition 13 was forcing recipients of the state government largesse to make large sacrifices as a result of Proposition 13. In actuality, some $450 million is projected to remain in the kitty as a "prudent reserve" at the end of the current fiscal year next June. Back in the days of the Pat Brown Administration, budgets on occasion were so precariously balanced that the state ended the fiscal year just about broke. That's when the state had to resort to gimmicks — such as a change in accounting systems — to prevent the budget from going into the red.

For many months, the chorus has rung out from Sacramento: "Doomsday is here. Tighten your belts. The well has run dry. Proposition 13 cannot be avoided." Those who lobby for cities, counties, special districts, the medical profession, welfare recipients, higher education, public employees and the like adopted fighting stances to minimize their losses and to get as big a piece of the available pie as possible. At one point, there was even speculation that cutbacks below last year's allocation levels might be necessary. It appeared that the budget-drafting process would be so complex and painful that there would be little chance of the Legislature reaching agreement before the July 1st start of the fiscal year.

So what happened? For the first time since 1972, the Legislature approved the budget on the constitutional deadline date of June 15th. The budget totaled almost $26 billion, higher than the one proposed by Governor Brown and about 6 percent higher than the spending level for last year. The governor had proposed that the state capture a $500 million windfall from a court decision involving 1978 property taxes, but the Legislature decided to give back $120 million to the taxpayers. And what about the various interests that were competing for supposedly hard-times dollars? Here's how they fared:

- ***Welfare recipients.*** The 2.1 million Californians on the welfare rolls were given basic grant increases of 9.2 percent — less than the 11 percent they would have received under the cost-of-living formula rescinded by the Legislature. The Legislature trimmed $151 million from the welfare budget by instituting such reforms as requiring individuals to exhaust their unemployment benefits before joining the relief rolls. Welfare recipients also were hurt by changes in the Medi-Cal law.
- ***Health-care providers.*** Hospitals, doctors and other Medi-Cal providers were given a 6 percent increase. Some of the money was obtained by requiring that recipients of health care make token payments ranging from $1 to $5 for each visit. In addition, some services were eliminated or streamlined.
- ***Local government.*** Last year, the Legislature pro-

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vided some $5.5 billion to cities, counties, public schools and special districts to help them cover their property-tax losses under the Jarvis-Gann initiative. This year, Governor Brown proposed that major alterations be made in the formula for distribution of funds and that the state capture all of the $500 million from the 1978 property taxes on boats, computers, airplanes and other items on the unsecured roll. The net effect of the Brown plan would have been a slight increase in local-government funding to $5.6 billion. The Legislature did not go along with the Brown plan and substituted one of its own. According to the Department of Finance, the total grant this year for Proposition 13 bailout will be about $6 billion — far more than local government anticipated.

- ***Public schools.*** The state's Education Establishment, led by the California Teachers Association, conducted an effective campaign to convince lawmakers that a hefty chunk of additional state money should flow to the schools despite a significant reduction in enrollment. As a result, the Legislature approved an 8 percent boost in school apportionments for general purposes (such as teacher salaries) and 2 percent less for special programs and pupil transportation. An additional $120 million was appropriated to help schools solve specified problems. As a result, most teachers in the state can look forward to generous salary increases this year — the 8 percent average made available by the state plus the annual increments (often 5 percent) earned by all teachers except those at the very top of the salary ladder. The Teachers Association is entitled to celebrate at Fat City.
- ***Community colleges.*** The state was not quite as generous with the community colleges — a 7 percent boost. Actually, the basic grant was a bit higher, but cuts were made in funds for non-credit adult classes (such as evening recreational courses).
- ***Higher education.*** Insofar as the University of California and the State University and Colleges systems are concerned, the word "austere" might well apply to this year's budget. Compared to last year's appropriations, the state colleges received a cut of 1½ percent ($14 million) and the UC campuses were given 1 percent more ($10 million), the smallest increase in the university's history. The Legislature took the view that the UC regents and the state college trustees have the power to raise funds from students and by economizing. (These figures do not include $117 million granted to these institutions for salary increases. When these are taken into consideration, the UC system received a boost of almost 7 percent and the state colleges about 3 percent.)
- ***Public employees.*** Although state workers did not walk away from the budget process empty-handed, they did not fare as well as their counterparts in local government. The Legislature gave some 225,000 state workers an average increase of 6 percent (with a minimum raise of $85 a month), plus a partially paid dental plan. The budget was signed into law by Governor Brown at about the time the results of bargaining-agent elections for state employees were being announced. Most employees chose the California State Employees Association, as expected. It will be interesting to see how the process works next year when the state's collective bargaining law will be in full flower.

The untouched legislative budget

Governor Brown had the luxury of being able to examine the bill in detail before the July 1st deadline. He signed it with almost three days to spare — and didn't cut a dime in legislative appropriations, a rare but not unprecedented action. The governor said he did not use the blue pencil on appropriations because the budget was so tight that there was little or no fat to trim. But there may have been another reason. How could the governor justify any cut without touching the $100-million-plus allocation for the Legislature, fully a 33 percent hike over last year's level of spending? And if he touched the legislative budget, as he must have been tempted to do, could he afford the open warfare that would have ensued?

The main reason for the increase in the legislative budget is the staff increase being implemented by the new leadership in both the Senate and Assembly. An easy way to make friends and to keep allies in the Legislature is to hand out more staff positions and office space — at no one's expense but the public's. There is an unwritten rule that the governor does not touch the Legislature's own budget and vice versa.

Brown did eliminate from the budget some control language which he felt violated the separation of powers between the three branches of government. The knottiest problem for him was the way the Legislature handled the abortion issue. Lawmakers left in the budget enough money to pay for all abortions requested under the Medi-Cal programs. But then they inserted language restricting abortions to an estimated 10 percent of their present level. The state Supreme Court has already ruled that provision unconstitutional. Then the Legislature adopted control language sponsored by Senator John Schmitz of Orange County prohibiting the expenditure of abortion-on-demand funds even if the Department of Health is required to do so by the state Supreme Court. That set up the possibility for a constitutional crisis, with the executive branch caught between the whips of the legislature and the high court. Brown eliminated that problem — perhaps — by wiping out the Schmitz clause. Ironically, he left intact the restrictive language, which set the stage for another court decision. It is now up to anti-abortion lawmakers to challenge the governor's right to eliminate the Schmitz provision.

A strange package

This was indeed a strange fiscal package presented to Brown. There was even a dispute about the total amount of the appropriations in the budget. The estimates ranged from $25.4 billion of $25.9 billion, depending upon how calculations were made. The legislative process was marked with a high level of partisan cooperation, partly because the image of all lawmakers suffered from last year's lengthy impasse. The Senate passed the measure by a whopping 35-4 vote, while the roll call in the Assembly was more typical, 54-26. The budget required a series of companion and trailer bills to change formulas and eliminate errors. Another measure provided for the $120 million rebate to those with property on the unsecured roll in 1978. Brown said he was personally happy with the budget because most of his pet projects were approved, including $65 million to improve county jails and state prisons.

The Brown Administration was not pleased with the Legislature's reduction of the "prudent surplus," which Brown wanted to leave at the $620 million mark. By the time the dust settled, Director of Finance Mary Ann Graves said that the reserve fund had been whittled down to $448 million, which she claims is dangerously low. In the rapid-growth days of Pat Brown, that kind of a surplus (even by percentage of the budget) would have been considered outrageously high.

But Graves can see trouble ahead and wants to build as big a cushion as possible. The state has yet to come to grips with the potential state and local impact of the Reagan budget cuts being engineered in Washington. It is entirely possible that the Legislature will be forced to convene within a relatively few months to cope with the reshaping of the state's fiscal program under conditions more resembling true austerity.

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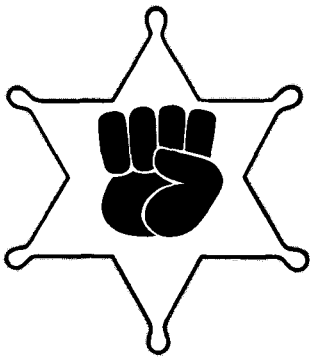
SHERIFF POWER



The chief law-enforcement officer in each of California's 58 counties is usually a shrewd politician who recognizes the public-relations value of maintaining a posse, riding a horse (usually borrowed) on ceremonial occasions and acting a bit like Bat Masterson, Wyatt Earp, Pat Garrett and the other famous lawmen of the Old West.

By DENA COCHRAN

When the California Sheriffs' Association holds its annual conference every spring, the room is thronged with cowboy belt buckles, boots and hats, not to mention a string tie or two. Like phantoms of their Old West predecessors, most members of the group appear to be right off the range. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Man for man, California's 58 sheriffs hold more power than almost any other local official. Their clout in the state Legislature is reflected in the current bevy of law-and-order bills — as well as the $40 million included in Governor Brown's cut-and-squeeze state budget for county jail construction.

"The single most powerful elected public official in county government is the sheriff," says Tulare County Executive Jim Williams, a veteran of 31 years in county government. "Sheriffs know the political pulse of their communities better than anyone else. They represent a strong political force, and you'd better believe other elected officials know it."

Williams attributes sheriffs' power to the fact that, unlike county supervisors, sheriffs are elected countywide. Each is the leader of a large, hand-picked work force welded into a para-military organization. Sheriffs' staffs in Alameda, Orange, Sacramento, San Bernardino and San Diego counties each number nearly a thousand; forces numbering several hundred are the norm. In the granddaddy department of them all, Los Angeles County Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess commands a staff of 8,000 — larger than the armies of many small countries.

Loyalty to their boss is expected from deputy sheriffs, who in turn benefit from his political clout. "I back my men to the limit when they're doing their best," says Tulare County Sheriff Bob Wiley. "If they're in a tight spot, I'll stand by them. And this department runs on team effort, even though I make the decisions. I meet with my deputies regularly, and they know that I make those decisions after conferring with them."

Dena Cochran is a free-lance writer in Visalia.

Parades and problems

Most sheriffs still have posses and many still ride horses, often borrowed, in local parades — all vestiges of simpler times. The posses are largely ceremonial, except for certain search-and-rescue activities, and — along with other western trappings — are used by sheriffs to tie themselves in their constituents' minds to their Old West predecessors — the sheriffs who in the lore of books and movies single-handedly preserved the peace.

But nostalgic images do little to help sheriffs cope with their modern problems: declining county revenues, increasing rates of violent crime, tensions arising from the demands of unionized deputies, crowded jails and the rising cost of gasoline, food and everything else from bullets to ballpoint pens.

Image aside, most sheriffs are trained professionals who have come to their jobs from some kind of earlier law enforcement experience. Many hold administration of justice degrees. Most also have taken advantage of the extensive Peace Officer Standards Training (POST) offered through the state, and many are graduates of the national FBI Academy. Such built-in training opportunities are an advantage they hold over other elected officials. Such opportunities are important because the scope of work performed by most sheriffs' departments has broadened beyond basic law enforcement into areas like communitywide crime prevention programs and inmate counseling and education.

Their political power does not come without a price. Nights and weekends for most sheriffs are an endless round of pancake breakfasts, chamber of commerce banquets, weddings, parades and rodeos. At every public appearance they get complaints and questions from county residents who are often not satisfied with the way their problem, or their neighbor's, was handled.

Such long hours are seldom required of city police chiefs, whose appointed power is usually less than sheriffs'. A sheriff with a strong constituency is his own man, whereas the police chief is subject to the whims of his city council and city manager. This does not mean a sheriff's path is without

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pitfalls. "The weak ones don't last long," says County Executive Williams. "They are challenged and defeated quickly. But the strong ones are almost impossible to topple."

The same political constituency that serves as the sheriff's power base is also their Achilles' heel. By the very nature of being elected officials, they are exposed to the extreme elements in that constituency. The more vocal, aggressive members of the electorate often have the most clout, and there is no doubt that sheriffs are more responsive to outspoken members of the populace than are police chiefs. Those vocal elements are often conservative advocates of "locking them up and keeping them there," especially in today's tough law-and-order climate.

As a result, sheriffs' departments are less likely to push public service programs such as neighborhood watch than are police departments. Sheriffs also are less apt to try cost-saving techniques that involve reducing the number of deputies on patrol, for fear of antagonizing their constituents.

Politics creep into sheriffs' departments in other ways, too. Sheriffs tend to have their forces respond to many more inconsequential incidents than do police chiefs, who often save money and manpower by letting cats in trees and barking dogs sort themselves out. Sheriffs — again, in fear of offending constituents — find it simpler to respond to almost every call. Unfortunately, such service is expensive; with the price of gasoline and salaries climbing, it will become more so.

Some law enforcement experts argue that police chiefs, whose qualifications are scrutinized by city councils, run more professional organizations than sheriffs who need possess no professional qualifications to run for office. In the state's larger cities, which can afford to hire proven professionals, this may be true. But in the 80 percent of California's city police departments which operate with less than a 10-person force, it is probably not so, authorities say. There police departments often rely on the county sheriffs' departments, with their superior resources, to provide aid and expertise when complex cases come along.

Kid-glove treatment

For the most part, sheriffs have come through county government's post-Proposition 13 agonies with fewer staff and budget cutbacks than any other branch of government. While their rate of growth has been slowed in many counties, most sheriffs have seen their budgets continue to grow. In tiny Tulare County, the sheriff's budget grew from $7.6 million in fiscal year 1978-79, the year following Proposition 13's passage, to just over $10 million in fiscal year 1980-81. By contrast, in Los Angeles County the sheriff's budget topped $300 million this year.

The kid-gloves treatment given sheriffs by most county boards of supervisors stems from the supervisors' notion (one nurtured by the sheriffs themselves) that the public does not want to see cutbacks in law enforcement. Tulare County Supervisor Leroy Swiney expressed the prevailing sentiment when his board recently agonized over a federal funding cutback of Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) job funds. "I'll guarantee you one thing," Swiney said. "I won't ever vote to continue any of these positions with county funds except those belonging to the sheriff, because I believe that's what the people have mandated. These other things they have not."

"These other things" included funding for positions in almost every other county department, including the fire and health departments.

Operating as they do from a position of strength, most sheriffs have resisted efforts to reorganize or streamline their organizations with an eye toward economy. Most departments are left free to reflect the philosophies of their own sheriffs. Some can boast of modern, even faddish operations, with money to try a variety of new techniques. Others stick with traditional substation and resident-deputy operations, many of which could tolerate some significant budget-cutting. But without exception, sheriffs insist more money is needed every year.

On the state level, the California Sheriffs' Association works with the California Peace Officers' Association and the California Police Chiefs' Association to lobby the Legislature. Their spokesman, Al LeBas, is a retired Los Angeles County Sheriff's division chief. LeBas' efforts are reinforced by the work of about a dozen sheriffs who add their individual lobbying efforts. The politically active group includes Brad Bates of Orange County, John Duffy of San Diego County, Duane Lowe of Sacramento County, Richard Pacileo of El Dorado County and Roy Whiteaker of Sutter County.

Ordinarily sheriffs are in the enviable position of having it both ways with the Legislature: Liberals are usually willing to go along with them on bread-and-butter issues, such as increased retirement and training benefits for their work forces, while conservatives will usually back their anti-crime measures.

Brown's fence-mending

This year, with law-and-order a dominant theme in the Legislature, almost everyone is supporting get-tough bills. Proposals to increase sentence lengths, reduce plea bargaining and toughen penalties for repeat offenders have been especially plentiful. "You could say this is a good year for sheriffs," says Tulare Sheriff Wiley, "a very good year."

"I would say there's about an 80 percent chance that some sort of jail construction package will get funded this year, even though the legislative analyst has made some suggestions to the contrary," says Steve Zehner, criminal justice lobbyist for the California State Association of Counties. "The Legislature is very sympathetic to law-and-order issues this year, even though the financial climate may not be right."

Governor Brown has been openly courting the sheriffs, part of a fence-mending effort in preparation for his campaign next year for the U.S. Senate. He showed up at their annual conference in San Rafael in April and was given a frosty reception. Presidential Counselor Edwin Meese got a much warmer welcome by the sheriffs when he appeared at the same conference to assure them that President Reagan's appointments, judicial and otherwise, would be made with an eye to the needs of local law enforcement agencies.

In spite of their obvious strengths, sheriffs cannot count on a trouble-free future. Money will be tight for most county governments while inflation and rising crime rates will force sheriffs to try to boost their already hefty budgets.

"Sheriff's departments will be the last part of county government to experience any kind of cutback," says Williams, "but they won't be able to grow as much as they have in the past, and some of them will no doubt consider that, in itself, a cutback."

Some sheriffs' personnel are already grumbling about lost opportunities. "There's a sense of frustration developing in the ranks," says Lieutenant Richard Mossis, Tulare County sheriff's administrative officer. "Growth is stymied, and the opportunities for advancement that used to exist when we were implementing new programs regularly just aren't there anymore. Now we're just holding the line."

However, thanks to their bosses' clout and the statewide obsession with crime issues, sheriffs' departments will find that holding the line is less painful for them than it will be for most other public employees.

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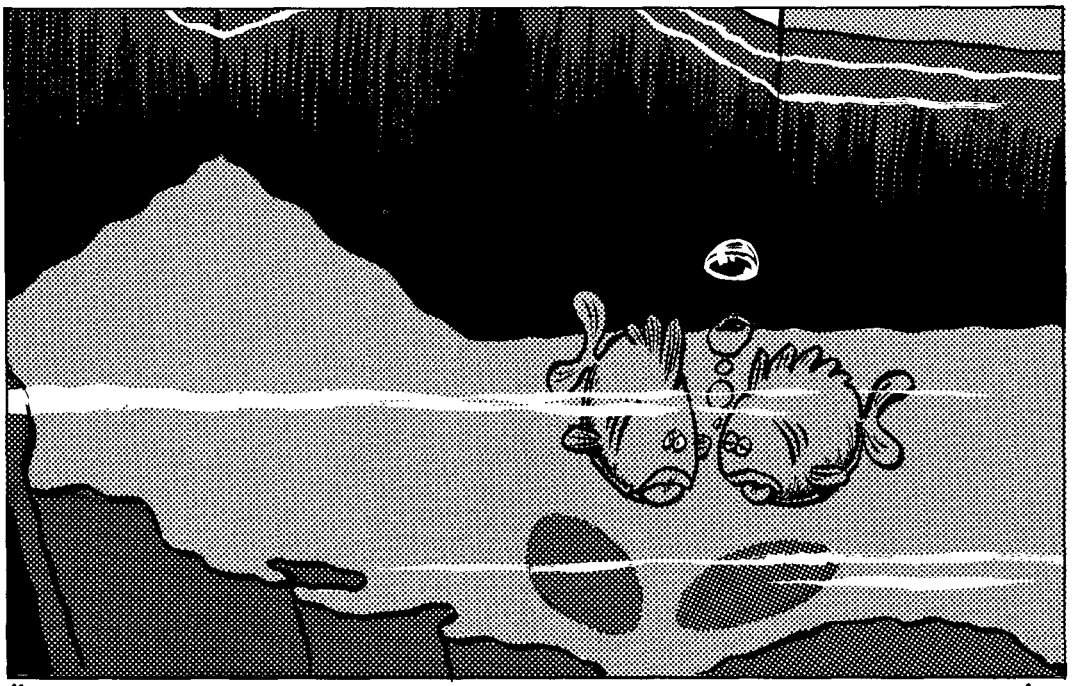
Is California ready for the next great quake?



"CALIFORNIA HAD AN EARTHQUAKE PLAN — BURIAL AT SEA!"

By ROBERT B. RIGNEY and KENNETH C. TOPPING

California is the most seismically active portion of the United States. A Federal Emergency Management Agency study released this year projects that within 30 years California has better than a 50-50 chance of experiencing another earthquake similar to that which devastated San Francisco in 1906. Southern California is most vulnerable due to the length of time since the last quake of this size hit the region and the heavy concentration of population and urban development which has built up since then.

In the past 12 centuries, at least eight major earthquakes have occurred along the southern portion of the San Andreas fault which lies about 30 miles from Los Angeles. While loss of life would probably not number in the hundreds of thousands, as in recent quakes in China and Italy, an 8-plus Richter-scale event along the southern San Andreas could result in from 3,000 to 14,000 dead, depending upon the time of day. Probable loss of life from such an earthquake along the northern San Andreas would be only slightly less devastating — from 3,000 to 11,000 dead. By comparison, 700 were killed in the San Francisco quake.

Devastation from the next earthquake of this magnitude in California is likely to be greater than any natural or man-made disaster in the United States since the Civil War, according to the study. While various federal, state and local emergency response plans may be adequate to handle moderate quakes, all levels of government are unprepared to deal with the damage and casualties which could result from the next great quake. The study's primary conclusion is that "effective leadership at all governmental levels" is the "single most important factor" in improved preparedness.

Yet the history of seismic safety law is clear: Government action comes after earthquakes, not before. For example, the first significant seismic-safety legislation was enacted in the months following the 1933 Long Beach quake that destroyed or seriously damaged many unreinforced masonry homes and public school buildings. Likewise, after the 1971 Sylmar quake, the state created the California Seismic Safety Commission, mandated seismic safety elements in local general plans, required habitable structures to be set back from fault lines and upgraded building code and hospital construction standards for seismic safety.

Although federal and state levels are involved in planning, local governments continue to bear the brunt of disaster response and hazard-prevention efforts. The major responsibility for dealing with earthquakes, before and after they happen, is firmly fixed with local governments. How

Robert B. Rigney is administrative officer of San Bernardino County and former chairman of the California Seismic Safety Commission. Kenneth C. Topping is planning director for San Bernardino County and a member of the faculty at the University of California, Riverside.

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well are cities and counties prepared to carry it out?

In general, local governments are ignoring the earthquake problem in a deliberate policy of "non-decision." One reason may be the "tolerable" levels of damage experienced previously in California. Major quakes of recent years generally have struck lightly populated areas at fortuitous times, when children were home from school and workers away from offices and factories. Moreover, the total number of earthquake-related deaths has been relatively small compared to the annual number of deaths resulting from highway accidents, flood and fires. In short, California has been lucky so far.

Yet there is every indication that the effects of earthquakes will not be so "tolerable" in the future. Many earthquake-prone areas are now heavily populated, and there are no feasible policies for resettlement. According to a Joint Committee on Seismic Safety report, virtually every major urban area in California is subject to substantial earthquake hazard.

Local governments already have the power to reduce potential loss of life and property, but some problems must be confronted and solved first:

- **Communications with scientists.** Earthquake prediction is still a very inexact science, and translating scientific predictions into meaningful local action is a major communications problem.
- **Communications with other agencies.** An integrated emergency-communication system between governmental agencies does not now exist. Many local governments have radio networks connecting police, firemen and public works crews with their respective headquarters, but they do not necessarily have communication links with other jurisdictions or with each other.
- **Communications with the public.** During an emergency, it is difficult to know who is in charge. To respond quickly, communications authority and priorities are needed long before the emergency. Furthermore, the public must be educated about its responsibilities prior to a disaster. But which entity will coordinate the emergency communications, and who will be responsible for educating the public in advance?
- **Local risk assessment.** With major earthquakes occurring every 120-140 years, there is an understandable tendency to gamble on the probability that one will not occur within the next budget year. But local governments need to make conscious evaluations of the risk posed by earthquakes. Probable earthquake damage varies according to the geology and types of development in the area. How does a local jurisdiction adequately assess the potential local risk of earthquake hazard?
- **Critical life-support systems.** Consistent standards do not exist for required levels of police and fire protection, hospitals, water and sanitation systems, utilities, cemeteries and other emergency services. These critical life-support systems must be carefully planned, located and coordinated by local government.
- **Construction standards for new and old buildings.** Significant improvements have been made in the past decade in California's local standards for construction of new buildings to withstand earthquake forces. Despite this, the problem of older, hazardous buildings continues. According to the Urban Geology Master Plan issued by the California Division of Mines and Geology, property damage from earthquake shaking was projected at $21 million for the three decades from 1970 to the year 2000. How can local governments provide safety standards that protect the public without placing extreme financial burdens on property owners and on tenants who may be displaced by improvement programs?
- **High-risk facilities.** Regulation of high-risk facilities such as dams, power plants and fuel-storage facilities has been preempted by state or federal agencies. Local government is involved, however, when programs for high-risk facilities include land-use controls, independent reviews of plans and environmental impact reports. How can local government be more directly involved in the determination of standards for high-risk facilities?
- **Land-use planning.** Sensible land-use planning can be an effective loss-reduction measure in earthquake-prone areas. One approach is to maintain hazardous areas as open space. Another is to limit residential densities in hazardous areas. A third requires geological studies before final approval of any development. But such measures can be politically unpopular; can local government allow the public to assume the risk of ignoring earthquake hazards?
- **Private sector involvement.** The private sector's role in hazard reduction and earthquake preparedness has never been defined. State law now requires real-estate agents to inform potential buyers in writing when properties are within a hazardous zone, but there is no requirement for banks and insurance companies to consider seismic and geologic hazard conditions. If loans were refused in areas of seismic hazard or special insurance required, it might do much to divert building to safer areas. How can local government enlist the cooperation of the private sector in advance of a disaster?

Making progress

Despite such problems, some progress on hazard prevention has been made in the past decade. Most local governments have adopted seismic-safety elements as part of their general plans. Some are adopting new seismic provisions in building codes, requiring geologic studies in the vicinity of active faults and implementing retrofit ordinances to strengthen old buildings against lateral force. Some have re-examined their earthquake emergency action plans in light of recent predictions.

San Bernardino County provides one example of local efforts to confront seismic-safety problems. More than 30 active faultlines cross the county's 20,000 square miles. Most of its 893,000 persons live close to the three faults most capable of generating earthquakes: the San Andreas, characterized by large, infrequent quakes; the San Jacinto, one of the state's most active; and the Cucamonga fault.

San Bernardino County's "seismic safety element" was adopted as part of the county's general plan by the Board of Supervisors in 1974. It outlines the need for improved prevention measures within the county. Implementation began with the application of the Alquist-Priolo Special Studies Zones Act and upgrading of the uniform building code in 1976.

Wrightwood, a small resort town west of Cajon Pass that lies squarely on the San Andreas fault, provided the county with its first test of the Alquist-Priolo Act. Intended to prevent loss of life and property resulting from ground displacement along fault lines, the Alquist-Priolo Act identified special study zones along known active faults throughout California. Local governments were required to withhold approval of certain types of building permits in the special study zones until a geological investigation determined the exact location of faults so that habitable structures could be set back a safe distance. Because most of Wrightwood was in a special study zone, it appeared that most of Wrightwood's property owners would have to pay for separate geological studies in order to build on previously subdivided, vacant properties. Instead, the county hired a team of geologists to locate the fault as precisely as possible on existing properties. In public hearings, special setbacks from the identified fault line were established. In a few instances, properties were rendered unbuildable for

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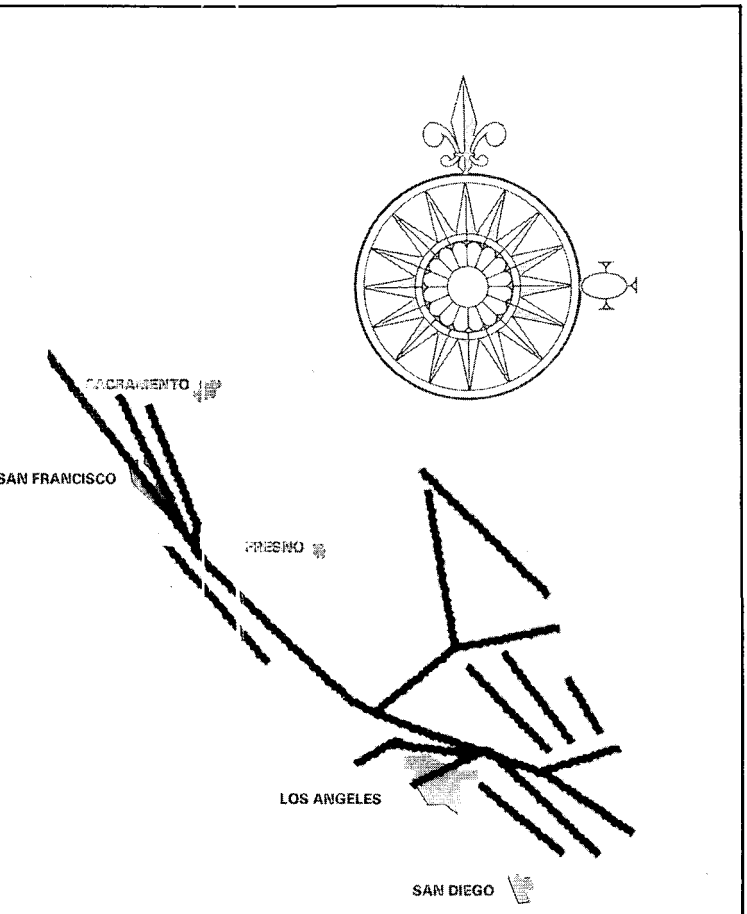
regular single-family houses; they were designated only for garages, sheds and extra yards. If property owners wanted to challenge the county's decision, they could pay for more precise geological investigations.

Residents were ambivalent about the special setback zone: They objected to drastic reductions in the potential use of specific lots, but they also were relieved to have the highest risk area reduced to a relatively narrow strip of land running through the community. Some wanted the county to rely exclusively on "buyer beware" warnings in deeds, rather than to withhold building permits. But because of the county's potential liability for damage or loss of life from a seismic occurrence, the Board of Supervisors rejected the idea.



MAJOR FAULT LINES

San Bernardino County also adopted seismic provisions for its uniform building code, increasing framing and foundation requirements in certain areas and upgrading standards for securing overhead fixtures and ceilings. In 1979, the county adopted a new Consolidated General Plan which coordinated seismic safety with other natural hazard mitigations. Last year, it adopted a new development code and a new series of community plans with more definitive fault study zone mapping and more precise identification of other geologic hazards such as potential landslides.

As a result of heavy flooding and destructive wildland fires which burned into nearby urban areas in 1980, the county is re-evaluating its existing emergency response plans. A new Office of Emergency Services, set up last year, is working to improve procedures for all natural disasters, including earthquakes. A five-county Southern California Earthquake Planning Partnership is developing a coordinated plan of action for emergency response to a possible 8+ Richter-scale event along the southern San Andreas.

Meanwhile, other local jurisdictions have been pursuing seismic-safety measures. Long Beach and Los Angeles have initiated programs to strengthen hazardous buildings. The Los Angeles ordinance is the most ambitious, aiming at upgrading 8,000 pre-1933 masonry buildings. Adopted by the Los Angeles City Council this year, the ordinance requires that these buildings must be strengthened to meet about 60 percent of the current earthquake safety requirements. This takes advantage of recently adopted laws which allow local jurisdictions to rehabilitate unsafe older buildings to meet seismic standards lower than those required for new buildings. In this way, such improvements can be made more financially feasible, while making properties more "life-safe," if not "property-safe."

Metropolitan areas with hazardous buildings are most vulnerable to serious losses of life and property in a major quake. Efforts to strengthen pre-1933 buildings will take a long time — up to 15 years in Los Angeles — and do not yet address hazardous conditions created in buildings constructed from 1933 to the early 1970s.

Moreover, numerous unanswered questions remain: How safe is safe? What value is placed on human life in evaluating risk? What should be done when technical experts disagree? What effect will earthquake predictions have on the very tax base which supports local government's ability to prepare for disasters? What is the role and responsibility of private-sector institutions in reducing hazards and preparing for a major emergency?

It is difficult for elected decision-makers to deal with a hostile public whose economic self-interest is uppermost in its mind. Sometimes the public's knowledge of the destruction potential of a seismic event is only realized after the devastation. Then many citizens question their local officials: Why was nothing done earlier to protect life and property?

Where can local governments turn to obtain support and resources?

- **Governor Brown formed** an emergency task force on earthquake preparedness which has recommended greater public and private sector cooperation. But the task force so far has emphasized better disaster response and said little about hazard mitigation at the local, state and federal levels.
- **In an era of deregulation,** it is politically difficult to pass stronger seismic safety laws. But greater seismic safety need not rest solely on more complex regulations. Much can be done by enforcing existing rules consistently. And much more could be done with stronger inducements for cooperation by the private sector. For example, by sponsoring legislation which permitted local governments to adopt lesser seismic safety standards for old buildings than for new, the California Seismic Safety Commission made it possible for Los Angeles to pursue a retrofit program which would induce property owners to upgrade their hazardous buildings and thus save lives.
- **If more stringent regulations** are needed, the state could offer a tradeoff between such measures and the elimination of other requirements placed on local government. An opportunity currently exists to strike such a balance. A review of California planning and development law has recently been launched by the Governor's Office of Planning and Research and other organizations. The review might consider the possibility of including additional seismic safety requirements in return for elimination of other provisions less essential to basic public health and safety, such as the requirement for scenic highway elements in city and county general plans.

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Will California keep the Silicon Valley bonanza?

By LIBBY LANE

It all started rather inauspiciously, back in 1938. Two young Stanford electrical engineering graduates were encouraged, by engineering professor Frederick Terman, to remain in the Bay Area after graduation rather than migrate to the East Coast as so many young engineering students had done in the past. Bill Hewlett, who had designed an audio oscillator, and David Packard heeded their mentor's advice and set up shop in a Palo Alto garage. Crocker Bank loaned them $1,000 to start production. Their first big order came from Disney Studios, which wanted nine oscillators to produce the stereophonic sound for the movie *Fantasia*. Hewlett-Packard was thus born. Eventually the firm became the world's largest manufacturer of electronic equipment and the undisputed leader of Santa Clara County's burgeoning electronics industry.

When World War II came, the San Jose-based Food Machinery and Chemical Company (FMC) switched from making tractors to tanks. After the war, local business and industrial leaders teamed up with Stanford University to promote applied research in California. The resulting organization was called the Stanford Research Institute.

At about the same time, Terman returned to Stanford, after several years' absence, and recruited a number of promising young engineers to his staff. Over the years Stanford's electrical engineering school became known as one of the nation's finest. In 1948, Russell and Sigurd Varian joined with some of Stanford's faculty members and formed Varian Associates. Then in 1957, eight engineers who had originally worked with William Schockley (one of three scientists who invented the transistor at Bell laboratories) arranged financing from Fairchild Camera and Instruments in New York and organized Fairchild Semiconductors.

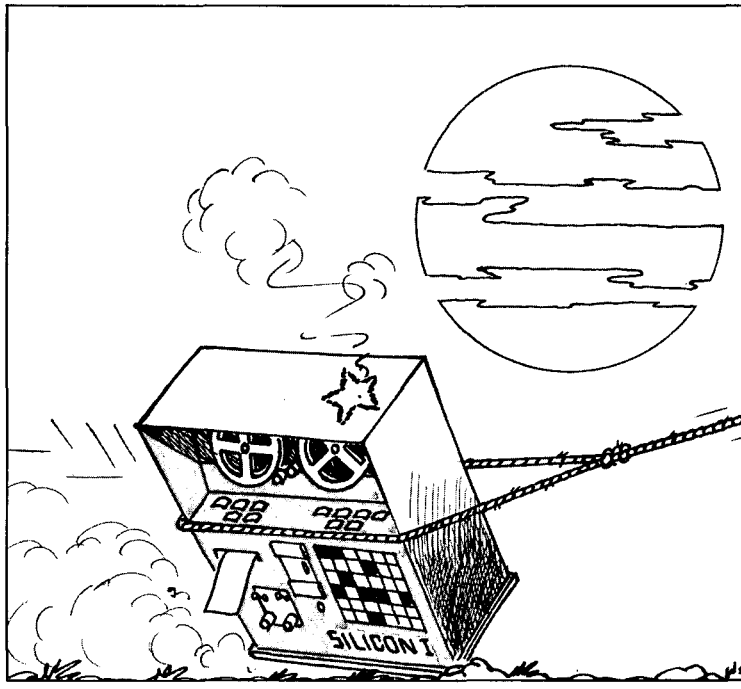
The scenario was idyllic: The university and research institute provided a nurturing intellectual environment. The air was clean, the hills surrounding the area were green and rolling. Much of the land was covered with orchards, although they slowly were replaced by homes for the engineers and technicians. The area became an electronic-age mecca with a "community of technical scholars," as Terman called it. There was space aplenty and housing was affordable.

Today there are hundreds of microelectronic companies in what has become known as "Silicon Valley." But there is also trouble in paradise. Because of those hundreds of high-technology industries and their supporting businesses, things have changed. The air is no longer clean; the hills are still green and rolling — when you can see them. The orchards are gone, paved over to accommodate the growing population. Open space no longer abounds, freeways are congested and commutes are long. The once-affordable home has vanished, and the quality of life is suffering.

Libby Lane, a resident of Silicon Valley and a journalism graduate of San Jose State University, prepared this article as a Journal *intern.*

There is also a growing disaffection among the "high-tech biggies," who concede that California may no longer be the only land of milk and honey. Many other states are aggressively courting Silicon Valley companies with promises of clean air, open space, reliable energy, low taxes, friendly business climate and affordable housing.

What the electronics industry has done for California's economy can be illustrated with a few statistics: It employs



more than 400,000 persons, almost 23 percent of the state's manufacturing employment. It produces 34 percent of all integrated circuits in the world and accounts for more than one-third of the total expansion of California's manufacturing employment during the last 17 years. About 100,000 new jobs are generated every year by the state's electronics businesses.

Technologically, there is still room to grow. But the qualities that once made California a desirable place to set up shop have declined, and the companies wishing to expand are looking outside of the state.

Leading the way

Hewlett-Packard, which started the phenomenon, seems to be leading the way again. The firm is not truly representative of all others, because it is essentially an international corporation with facilities in Germany, France, Japan, Malaysia and elsewhere. However, Hewlett-Packard is still expanding in the United States — and it's definitely not all in California.

Roy Verley of Hewlett-Packard, one of the principal decision-makers in locating new plant sites, says the firm has "10 sites in the works, some in temporary buildings and

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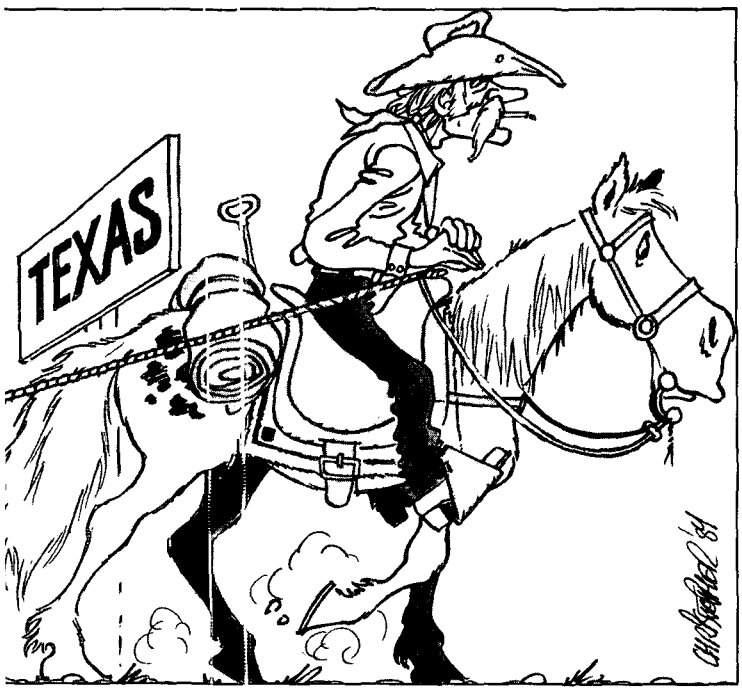
some still in the planning stages." Only two will be in California: one at Roseville, near Sacramento, and another in Rohnert Park, near Santa Rosa. The remaining eight are scattered throughout Washington, Colorado, North Carolina and Puerto Rico. Other outfits are on the move too: Spectra-Physics, Advanced Micro Devices and Intel — mostly to other western states and elsewhere in the Sunbelt.

There are some areas in California that are still deemed desirable, including the Sacramento-Roseville area. The city of Roseville, in Placer County, has set aside 5,000 acres for an industrial park. Both Hewlett-Packard and Shugart opted for this area for expansion.

According to Dick Johnson of Seger and Johnson, a California site location firm, "The quality of life in Sacramento is excellent." He cites several reasons: Relatively clean air, supportive city and county governments, economic and social stability because of large numbers of government workers, good local colleges, adequate labor pool, lower wage rates than in some other areas, low energy rates, major highway accessibility, good climate and affordable housing. Homes can still be purchased at from $65,000 to $85,000; in the Silicon Valley they start at $100,000.



In essence, the Sacramento area has all the characteristics that the Santa Clara Valley had about 20 years ago.

But statewide there are some problems that high-tech industries, site-location firms and the California Manufacturers Association (CMA) worry about:

- **Energy.** Cost doesn't seem to be a critical factor but availability and reliability are. When Hewlett-Packard assesses the energy prospects in California, according to Verley, "It scares us to death." Much of the microelectronics industry is based on an around-the-clock manufacturing process. When silicon wafers are being baked, these industries don't want to have to be worried about the possibility of rolling blackouts. Overall, he added, "It's not very conducive to doing business." Hewlett-Packard would like to see Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant operating. The CMA has also made Diablo Canyon one of its "musts" for improving the industrial climate.

- **Permit processes and environmental regulations.** This area is one in which other states — North Carolina, Texas, Connecticut and Delaware — are capitalizing on California's efforts to retain its "quality-of-life" elements. Mainly because of its mushrooming population, California has been pushed into instituting lengthy permit processes and environmental regulations. The result has been agencies and laws such as the Air Resources Board, Water Resources Control Board, Energy Conservation and Development Commission, the Coastal Commission and the California Environmental Quality Act, whose air quality standards exceed the federal guidelines.

Industry backers claim that it was California's regulation jungle which prevented Dow Chemical Company from building a petro-chemical plant complex near San Francisco several years ago. After more than two years of effort, Dow had received four of the 65 permits required when the company abandoned the project.

More recently, Advanced Micro Devices, headquartered in Santa Clara, wanted to expand. They were looking at two sites: one in Gilroy, at the south end of Santa Clara County, and the other in Austin, Texas. The plant in Gilroy was to be built first. AMD encountered resistance from the local populace who "liked their city the way it is" and also lengthy delays due to required zoning changes, general plan amendments and public hearings at all levels of government. The plant in Gilroy is fairly assured now, but the permit process meant a three-year delay for AMD, which subsequently went ahead and built their first expansion plant in Texas. Michael Dorn of AMD's Gilroy planning staff asks a pertinent question: "How do you get controls and simplify at the same time?"

By contrast, other states that are wooing the high-tech industries are trying to make growth easy for business. Georgia has expedited their permit process by allowing businesses to obtain all state, federal and environmental permits quickly through one agency. North Carolina offers the services of a state consultant who makes sure the project's plans meet all the existing environmental standards before permits are applied for. In Texas the accommodating attitude is summed up in one question: "When do you want to break ground?"

- **Transportation.** Industrial growth in California is inevitably linked to an adequate, well-maintained transportation system. But the current message both from Sacramento and Washington, is that there will be less money for highways, both in construction and maintenance. John Geoghegan, a lobbyist on economic development issues for the CMA, says that transportation is not the biggest factor, but that the state "ought to show some flexibility" in servicing areas that are suited for industrial and commercial development. The California Transportation Commission's approval for initial work on Highway 65 is a positive case in point. The road will link up the new industrial area northeast of Roseville with Interstate 80, thereby bypassing downtown Roseville. Verley of Hewlett-Packard says this bypass was seen as integral to the success of the new industrial park, and that Hewlett-Packard's plans to build there were contingent on the bypass.

- **Taxes.** Taxes are always mentioned by business as a problem, whether the tax rate is stable or increasing. As a matter of fact, businesses have fared well since the passage of Proposition 13. They have a measure of certainty as to what future property taxes will be. And since property is only reassessed when it is sold, manufacturing plants and industries find their taxes even more stable than those for residential properties. As a result, there is an undercurrent of hostility among residential property owners. They feel that because businesses don't change hands as often as homes, homeowners are being forced to pay an increasingly disproportionate share of the total property-tax revenue. The possible drive for a "split roll," with differing tax rates for businesses and homeowners, is a major concern for CMA.

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• **Business incentives.** When governors like Jim Hunt of North Carolina say to expanding high-tech industries, "We want you," the companies know there is going to be a concerted effort on the part of state and local governments to facilitate their move in any way possible. Some industry leaders complain that California transmits a negative attitude toward business growth, especially during the Brown Administration. Many states, in an effort to encourage growth, are offering business loans at low-interest rates if industries agree to build in a certain area and/or employ a certain number of persons.

North Carolina's Hunt epitomizes the effort of other states to win California's high-tech industries with promises of cheap land, open space, blue sky and a research triangle bounded by Duke University, North Carolina State University and University of North Carolina. Those promises include many of the amenities that made the Silicon Valley a success three decades ago. An additional lure used by Hunt is a plan for training programs at the community colleges that will meet the educational and training needs of any high-tech company that agrees to settle in North Carolina. According to site-location expert Johnson, the state of Connecticut has gone so far as to say it will pre-screen applicants that a new company may want to hire, will pay for their training and may even be willing to supplement their pay for the first month of employment by a new business.

Governor Jerry Brown insists that he wants to encourage new high-tech industries and maintain existing ones so that California will not lose its premier status in the microelectronics field. One of his techniques involves the Microelectronics Innovation and Computer Research Operation (MICRO), a project to provide $2.6 million for expansion of Cory Hall at UC Berkeley and to purchase state-of-the-art microelectronics equipment to support innovative research projects. MICRO also would provide a $5 million grant program which would match, on a one-to-one basis, private-sector contributions to university research projects and graduate education in microelectronics.

In essence, Governor Brown is trying to recreate the relationship between Stanford University and the pioneering microelectronics companies of the '50s and '60s — only this time the site will be the University of California.

• **Housing and quality of life.** In California these two factors can no longer be thought of as separate. "Quality of life" is hard to define and harder to quantify, but when homes become $50,000 more expensive than comparable homes in other states, then the Californian's quality of life is directly affected. Electronics companies are finding they can't get the engineers they need to come to California because of the high cost of housing.

Probably the most common reason that high-tech industries are looking at other states is the elusive "quality-of-life" element. Unlike many other industries, microelectronics companies are not tied to any fixed resource base. Their biggest resource is their employees — specifically, their creative and innovative minds. The competition is keen and there are more jobs for electrical engineers and technicians than there are engineers and technicians to fill them. In the microelectronics industry it is a "job-seekers' market." These bright young men and women demand a high quality of life, including academic and cultural facilities, pleasant climate and affordable housing. When Intel, one of the early Silicon Valley companies, decided to expand, it first moved to Livermore and Santa Cruz. But its most recent expansions are out-of-state — in Portland, Oregon, and Albuquerque, New Mexico. Larry Borgman, Intel's corporate manager of facilities and planning, says the main reason was "mostly a desire to offer a variety of lifestyles." Portland and Albuquerque also have affordable housing, mild climates and major universities — all big pluses.

Is this the beginning of a mass exodus of California's high-tech industries to greener pastures? Probably not. New microelectronics companies are still springing up in the Silicon Valley. And in an expanding industry, there may be enough growth to go around for all states that are competing for it. But California — which has had the lion's share for years — can no longer ignore the competition.

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The post-13 transformation in local-government lobbying

By KERRY DRAGER

It has been three years since Proposition 13 was approved, but for some people it probably seems longer. Among them are the Sacramento lobbyists for various local governments and agencies whose job descriptions have changed considerably in the post-13 era. In both message and tactics, the representatives of cities, counties and special districts have had to adjust to new fiscal realities.

Before Proposition 13, the local-sector lobbyists focused mostly on the "tinkering type" of legislation that affected the day-to-day operation of government. Today, financing is their top priority. As one Assembly staff member says, "It's now a matter of survival."

Here are some other ways that the lobbying game has been altered:

• **Stiffer competition.** Among those representing local agencies, lobbying strategy must adjust to the fact that local agencies are battling each other to secure their share of state funds. "It's much, much tougher now because everybody is dependent on the state for assistance," says Michael Dillon who represents library and other local interests. "Where the state used to have funds available, that bailout money is all gone. This was probably one of the most difficult years for the Legislature in terms of balancing the state budget and of being as fair as possible to local government. But I think once we get past this year, the job will be easier for both the Legislature and for those of us representing various segments of local governments."

Don Benninghoven, executive director of the League of California Cities, says that the major change from Proposition 13 is not the loss of revenue but the new need to compete with schools, counties and special districts for funding that is increasingly less available. "We never had to compete with those groups before, or with the state itself," Benninghoven says. "Now it's a totally different ball game."

• **Different techniques.** J. Fred Silva, consultant to the state Senate's Local Government Committee, believes that lobbyists must work harder than before. "They cannot simply argue anymore that it's a home-rule issue and win," he says. "They have to be quicker on their feet and they have to prove their point with facts, figures and data — it isn't just their institutional word."

Benninghoven says the League of California Cities is re-evaluating its lobbying approach. In the past, the League has made no campaign contributions and supported no candidates, and Benninghoven says he hopes that doesn't change. "However," he adds, "it's very difficult to compete with other groups that do contribute. We represent the local public — constituents who elect the assemblymen and the senators. Hopefully, that influence will remain. But when there's a fiscal crunch, it becomes extremely difficult to lobby, particularly when our message is quite different. It used to be 'Leave us alone.' Now it's 'We need your help.' "

• **New lobbying voices.** The biggest and most influential organizations — such as the County Supervisors Association of California and the League of California Cities

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— are not the only ones adapting to Proposition 13; smaller groups have been hit hard as well. One, the California Library Association, has been forced to step up its lobbying efforts. "Libraries had not been state funded," says Dillon, the organization's lobbyist. "So when there were the massive cuts at the local level, the Library Association hired me to try to get assistance from the state."

• **Improved coalitions.** Proposition 13-spawned competition has not necessarily been cutthroat. In fact, on bills of mutual interest, local groups have united for a show of force. In particular, the League of California Cities and the County Supervisors Association have pooled their resources on various issues. "When the League of Cities and CSAC get together on major issues," says CSAC lobbyist Victor Pottorff, "then I think we can be generally effective."

In one case, the League and CSAC banded together to push for increased road and street financing. Historically, local agencies supplemented highway user fees. But Proposition 13 sharply curtailed the ability of local government to allocate general funds to transportation needs, so both organizations support proposals to increase the gas tax and other user fees. "We're trying to demonstrate to the Legislature that there's a transportation funding crisis that really is more severe at the local level than what we have at the state level," Pottorff says.

There also appears to be more collaboration among association members. "I think we have better cooperation among all of the counties now as we're looking at this budget and the legislation," says Pottorff. "CSAC is getting much better support from the counties."

One problem for local-government spokespersons in Sacramento stems from the fact that many Assembly and Senate members have little or no local government experience. "The Legislature tends to see it as an entity unto itself, not as part of an overall public delivery system," says Silva. "So the local agencies come in not as partners in a governmental scheme but rather as adversaries."

CSAC's Pottorff considers counties the political subdivisions of the state. Consequently, he says, representing a public agency is quite different from representing a client in the private sector. "We (the counties) are sort of the state's branch offices," he notes, "and 80 percent of what supervisors do in their budgets is pretty well controlled by state and federal laws and regulations. So all we're trying to do is create and continue a partnership with the administration and with the Legislature."

That partnership approach is important in areas such as crime, local lobbyists say. "If all the (pending) law-and-order bills would pass," suggests Pottorff, "where would we put everyone? We certainly couldn't put them in county jails. So when the Legislature talks about getting tough on crime, we agree with that policy statement. We just want them to address where we're going to get the facilities and the judicial system to meet that demand."

Other issues confronting cities and counties:

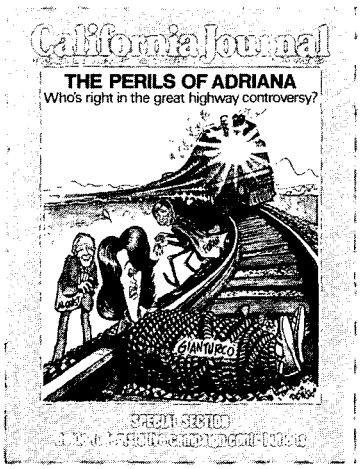
Budget uncertainties — Local agencies want some certainty in the state budget-making process, instead of being forced to function on a year-to-year basis, never really sure how much money will be available. "It's the scramble for the dollars in the last three years that is so upsetting," says Benninghoven. "How do you establish a budget and provide services when you're doing it at exactly the same time the Legislature is determining how much they're going to give you? You're trying to do it simultaneously and it doesn't work. We're talking about either changing the fiscal year, if we're going to continue this game, so that we budget later on. Or, better yet, have some permanence in the amount of money that's going to cities, even if it's less."

Local rule — Prior to Proposition 13, local agencies oversaw most of their own sources of revenue; now the public finance system is largely in the hands of state government. The dilemma, points out Silva, is figuring out how to live with the new arrangement and how to keep some degree of local autonomy over funding.

Jack Wilson, lobbyist for the California School Boards Association, would like to see a form of deregulation at the state level: "If, in fact, they're going to give us fewer dollars, they've got to lift some of the restraints on how we spend those dollars so that we can spend the money more effectively." Adds Benninghoven: "We want more flexibility, so that citizens locally can make decisions on services and pay for those services when and if they need them."

Although many lobbyists consider this year the most onerous for local governments, they tend to be optimistic about the future. "I think that in the next few years we're going to see a turnaround," says Dillon. "I just don't think things can get any more difficult than they are this year."

Robert Beckus represents the Special Districts Association and other local agencies. He tabs July 1st, 1982, as the magic date. By then, he says, the 1982-83 budget will be near completion and the bottom of the financing barrel will be identified. "And then we can start putting the spokes back in the wheel that's been torn apart by Proposition 13," Beckus says. "By then, I think the people who want parks and recreation, libraries, cemeteries and mosquito abatement districts will recognize that in order to have those services, they're going to have to pay for them. And I'm satisfied they will."



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The Arms Race

California candidates are becoming increasingly dependent on lobbying organizations to provide ammunition for their campaigns. The following analysis shows who provided how much weaponry to elect 100 members of the Legislature.

By ED SALZMAN

"Everyone knows that half the money spent in a political campaign is wasted. The trouble is that nobody knows which half."

That was one of the favorite sayings of the late Robert W. Crown, a long-time assemblyman who actually wasted very little money in his Alameda County campaigns. Yet, the fact is that an outrageous amount of money by any standard is being spent on state legislative elections — very possibly with half of it wasted. Candidates are spending fortunes for jobs that pay about $50,000 a year (including fringe benefits). The million-dollar-race record may be set next year for the first time in a Senate contest.

Whenever a struggle develops in a Senate or Assembly race, both sides raise huge sums for expensive computer-letter operations and other media messages. Campaign managers know that they are practicing overkill, but no one seems to be willing to gamble by not keeping up with the opposition. Better to raise and spend the money for a marginal mailer than take the risk that an opponent may get the upper hand.

In California's current political jargon this syndrome has come to be known as the Arms Race.

The Political Reform Act of 1974 (Proposition 9) was supposed to have cut the financial tie between legislators and lobbyists and to have given the citizen a bigger piece of the Sacramento pie. It was supposed to have reduced campaign spending. Partially because of rulings by the state Supreme Court that invalidated some key Proposition 9 provisions, the reform act has done none of these things. There are still limitations on the amount advocates can spend to wine and dine a legislator. But former Assemblyman John T. Knox of Richmond claims even that provision of the law is being circumvented through the use of campaign contributions in lieu of direct payment for food and drink.

Just like the international arms race, the expensive competition between candidates is distasteful to most of the participants. What legislator likes to spend a great deal of time asking for money? What lobbyist likes to be pressured almost every day into buying tickets to or entire tables at inane fund-raising dinners?

The inevitable result of the Arms Race is that every legislator, willingly or subtly, has become indebted to a group of campaign contributors. Even the most puritanical lawmaker would concede that those who donated heavily to his or her campaign would have more access to the candidate than those who never gave a dime.

Because of the perceived need to maintain a loaded arsenal, some legislators find themselves spending nearly half their time chasing dollars. (The arsenal can be used for a future race for higher office or can even be converted to personal use if the individual leaves public office.) Lobbying organizations are also caught in the vise. They are spending more than they would like on campaigns, and they often find it difficult to say no to those they would prefer not to help. The money-distribution process can make enemies as well as friends. Legislators pay close attention to who gives how much to their opponents and their colleagues.

The Arms Race does not necessarily benefit incumbents or one political party. Statistics published by the state Fair Political Practices Commission indicate that both sides in all truly competitive districts are well-armed with cash. California Common Cause recently published an analysis of legislative contributions over the past five years. The report identifies the top 20 contributors and includes organizations which favor Repubicans (business), Democrats (labor) and quite a few who give to both parties. The sums may look high, but that does not mean that there is a necessary advantage to the Republicans or Democrats.

Common Cause has long favored a form of direct public funding of campaigns as well as contribution limitations. In federal contests, there is now a $1,000 limit on a personal contribution. Has that halted the Arms Race? Hardly. It has escalated the use of direct-mail solicitations aimed at small donors. Because these mailers are so expensive, the candidates get less direct benefit from each dollar donated.

What does an individual, a corporation, a union, an association or other pressure group get for its money when it makes a contribution to a legislative campaign? That depends entirely on the nature of the contributor and the susceptibility of the legislator to the almighty campaign dollar. With a few lawmakers, large donors can undoubtedly expect favorable votes on a regular basis. With others, cash will only provide access — an opportunity to make a sales pitch. In those cases in which the opposing sides have both made contributions, the "juice factor" is eliminated.

The California Arms Race is accelerating and there is no end in sight. It is therefore becoming increasingly important for citizens to be aware of the complex fiscal ties between special interests and the Legislature. The charts that follow are designed to show the major sources of campaign funding for each of the 100 members of the Legislature elected last year.

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SENATE

Member	Committees	Contributors
Ray Johnson (R-Chico) District 1 $148,000	Agriculture and water resources, industrial relations, natural resources and wildlife, rules, transportation	Agriculture, $10,000; apartment owners, $2,000; lumber and wood, $6,000; land development, $4,500; banks, $3,000; state employees, $1,500; pest control, $1,000; billboards, $1,000; public utilities, $1,000; horse racing, $2,000; alcoholic beverages, $3,750; doctors, $3,000; restaurants, $3,000; dentists, $4,000; insurance, $3,000; contractors, $3,000; retail stores, $1,000; veternarians, $1,000; realtors, $2,500; automobiles, $2,000; accountants, $2,000; truckers, $1,000.
John Doolittle (R-Sacramento) District 3 $91,000	Business and professions, judiciary, local government, natural resources and wildlife	Gun owners, $30,500; doctors, $5,000; realtors, $2,000; agriculture, $1,000; beer, $1,500; law-and-order committee, $11,000; Sen. Richardson $3,000 (plus $17,000 loan).
Milton Marks (R-San Francisco) District 5 $118,000	Business and professions, health and welfare, judiciary, local government (chairman), natural resources and wildlife	Alcoholic beverages, $1,000; veterinarians, $1,000; banks, $3,500; dentists, $5,000; chiropractors, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; truckers, $1,000; labor, $8,500; pest control, $1,000; horse racing, $3,500; shipping, $6,000; automotive, $2,000; realtors, $1,000; savings and loans, $1,000; doctors, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $2,000; land developers, $3,500; contractors, $2,000; accountants, $1,000.
Dan Boatwright (D-Concord) District 7 $280,000	Elections and reapportionment (chairman), finance, industrial relations, natural resources and wildlife, revenue and taxation	Insurance, $8,885; savings and loans, $6,000; corporations, $5,000; labor unions, $16,500; automotive, $3,500; pathologists, $1,500; vending machines, $1,000; horse racing, $4,500; entertainment, $2,000; land development, $8,650; chemical, $2,900; agriculture, $13,000; oil, $5,500; chiropractors, $1,200; dentists, $6,000; real estate, $5,500; gun owners, $1,000; construction, $7,500; waste disposal, $3,850; alcoholic beverages, $4,250; wood products, $3,500; electric utilities, $1,000; court reporters, $1,250; cable television, $1,500; optometrists, $1,250; trial lawyers, $4,000; police, $1,250; restaurants, $1,500; doctors, $7,500; mortgage brokers, $4,750; emergency medical, $1,000; billboards, $2,500; health facilities, $1,250; apartment, $1,000; banks, $4,500; Hughes organization, $2,000; retail stores, $1,000; water development, $2,500; truckers, $1,000; accountants, $1,500; Assemblyman McAlister, $5,000.
Nicholas Petris (D-Oakland) District 9 $117,000	Finance, judiciary, rules	Trial lawyers, $1,900; bankers, $2,500; labor, $16,200; freight, $4,200; hospitals, $1,800; doctors, $1,000; horse racing, $2,700; construction, $2,000; milk, $1,300; airline, $2,400; automotive, $1,000; dentists, $2,500; insurance, $1,000; supermarket, $1,600.
Alfred Alquist (D-San Jose) District 11 $227,000	Energy and public utilities, finance (chairman), governmental organization	Apartments, $1,250; labor, $23,000; oil, $2,500; banks, $2,700; alcoholic beverages, $4,900; automotive, $2,000; cable television, $5,200; dentists, $4,000; inland pilots, $1,100; doctors, $3,000; optometrists, $1,750; land developers, $4,250; agriculture, $6,450; truckers, $3,500; billboards, $1,300; insurance, $6,800; telephone, $2,100; bus, $2,000; horse racing, $6,900; contractors, $3,500; cigarettes, $1,000; police, $1,800; pest control, $1,000; utilities, $2,750; Hughes organization, $1,500; retailers, $1,500; wood products, $1,000; Senator Ralph Dills, $2,000; applicants attorneys, $1,000.
John Garamendi (D-Mokelumne Hill) $174,000	Education, elections and reapportionment, finance, health and welfare, natural resources and wildlife	Wood products, $1,500; insurance, $2,000; labor, $30,800; agriculture, $8,200; savings and loans, $2,500; contractor, $1,000; alcoholic beverages, $2,000; optometrists, $1,100; truckers, $1,500; telephone, $1,250; veterinarians, $1,000; Hughes organization, $1,000; banks, $3,000; nurses, $1,000; dentists, $4,000; pharmacists, $1,000; horse racing, $1,000; chiropractors, $1,000; computer firm, $1,000; cable television, $2,000; Congressman Vic Fazio, $1,800; Governor Jerry Brown, $10,000; Senator David Roberti, $1,000; Senator Bob Presley, $1,000.
Rose Ann Vuich (D-Dinuba) District 15 $166,000	Agriculture and water resources, business and professions (chairwoman), local government, transportation	Banks, $3,700; automotive, $3,000; dentists, $4,000; health facilities, $1,400; agriculture, $11,800; insurance, $4,000; horse racing, $1,500; alcoholic beverages, $3,750; pest control, $1,000; electric utilities, $1,000; contractors, $2,500; labor, $1,000; land developers, $2,500; accountants, $3,000; professional women, $1,000; savings and loans, $2,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; major corporations, $1,000; doctors, $3,000; wood products, $1,000.
Henry Mello (D-Watsonville) District 17 $285,000	Agriculture and water resources, business and professions, health and welfare, local government, natural resources and wildlife	Labor, $43,800; savings and loans, $1,000; land developers, $10,500; agriculture, $6,500; doctors, $5,100; applicants attorneys, $2,000; automotive, $1,000; cable television, $1,500; dentists,$2,000; insurance, $5,000; horse racing, $2,650; trial lawyers, $5,000; mortgage brokers, $3,000; retailers, $1,000; Hughes organization, $2,500; water development, $10,000.
Ed Davis (R-Los Angeles) District 19 $480,000	Constitutional amendments, education, insurance and indemnity, judiciary	Banks, $7,200; oil, $14,000; real estate, $8,200; automotive, $2,000; savings and loans, $1,500; agriculture, $24,000; Mike Curb Productions, $3,000; land development, $16,000; Richard Viguerie Company, $8,000; insurance, $4,300; apartments, $1,000; doctors, $5,000; veterinarians, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $2,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; gun supporters, $38,900; dentists, $4,000; truckers, $1,000; horse racing, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; telephone, $1,300; major corporations, $10,000; Senator H. L. Richardson, $2,000; law-and-order committee, $1,500; Senator Bill Campbell, $8,000; Senator Ken Maddy, $1,000. (Note: Davis also received numerous contributions over $1,000 from individuals and businesses.)
Newton Russell (R-Glendale) District 21 $118,000	Banking and commerce, energy and public utilities, industrial relations, public employment and retirement (chairman)	Labor, $2,500; doctors, $3,900; insurance, $5,500; restaurant, $1,000; dentists, $4,000; bankers, $2,500; real estate, $3,000; horse racing, $1,000; aerospace, $1,000; optometrists, $1,100; savings and loans, $1,500; oil, $1,350; retail stores, $1,000; veterinarians; $1,000; agriculture, $2,000; land developers, $2,500; contractors, $1,000.
David Roberti (D-Los Angeles)	Elections and reapportionment, insurance and inde-	Oil, $2,600; banks, $12,500; alcoholic beverages, $5,400; steel, $1,100; applicants attorneys, $2,200; cable television, $1,700; dentists, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $1,700; labor, $43,300;

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Key to chart

Only contributions of $1,000 and over are included in the following breakdown.

Political party donations are excluded. So are contributions by individuals, except for legislators.

However, the figure below each legislator's name represents the total of all contributions for the primary and general elections combined. The contribution period covers the 1979-80 calendar years.

A single category, such as alcoholic beverages, may include several types of contributions (beer, wine, spirits).

Where the term "major corporations" is used, it usually refers to United for California, an association of large business enterprises.

Individual business contributions may be omitted if they do not fall into an identifiable category.

For details, see the state Fair Political Practices Commission contribution and spending reports for the June and November elections.

Member	Committees	Contributors
District 23 $248,000	mnity, judiciary, rules (chairman)	doctors, $1,500; trial lawyers, $4,200; truckers, $9,900; land developers, $6,500; savings and loans, $5,000; insurance, $4,500; court reporters, $1,100; police, $5,500; theatres, $1,600; horse racing, $3,000; electric utilities, $1,400; agriculture, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; Hughes organization, $2,000; accountants, $3,000; automotive, $3,000; billboards, $1,000; traffic schools, $1,500.
H. L. Richardson (R-Arcadia) District 25 $136,000	Education, energy and public utilities, natural resources and wildlife, revenue and taxation	Insurance, $2,500; horse racing, $2,000; automotive, $2,200; savings and loans, $2,000; land development, $1,300; lumber, $1,300; alcoholic beverages, $3,000; oil $1,700; dentists, $3,000; restaurant, $1,000; banks, $3,000; agriculture, $2,500; contractors, $3,000; doctors, $2,500; accountants, $2,000; real estate, $1,000.
Robert Beverly (R-Redondo Beach) District 27 $120,000	Banking and commerce, governmental organization, judiciary, revenue and taxation (chairman)	Wood products, $2,000; banks, $12,000; horse racing, $3,000; insurance, $12,000; doctors, $7,000; savings and loans, $5,000; apartments, $1,500; dentists, $6,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; retailers, $2,000; health facilities, $2,000; contractors, $3,000; accountants, $1,000; land developers, $2,500; labor, $3,000; thrift and loans, $1,000; restaurant, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $2,500; veterinarians, $1,000; real estate, $1,000; agriculture, $1,000; automotive, $1,000; electric utilities, $1,000; truckers, $1,300; mobilehome parks, $1,000.
Bill Greene (D-Los Angeles) District 29 $172,000	Elections and reapportionment, finance, governmental organization, industrial relations (chairman)	Banks, $2,800; alcoholic beverages, $2,000; applicants attorneys, $3,500; automotive, $2,500; dentists, $5,000; mortgage brokers, $4,500; doctors, $4,800; optometrists, $2,000; prosthetics, $2,000; pharmacists, $2,500; restaurant, $1,000; labor, $13,500; truckers, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; emergency medical, $8,000; wood products, $1,000; insurance, $5,000; mortuary, $2,500; horse racing, $3,800; construction, $3,500; computer firm, $1,000; land development, $1,000; accountants, $1,500; veterinarians, $1,000.
Ollie Speraw (R-Long Beach) District 31 $577,000 (includes some special-election donations)	Education, public employment and retirement, revenue and taxation, transportation	Contractors, $4,500; oil, $24,000; banks, $7,400; alcoholic beverages, $3,000; real estate, $43,600; insurance, $6,300; dentists, $4,000; doctors, $11,500; automotive, $5,400; labor, $1,000; veterinarians, $3,000; truckers, $1,500; wood products, $6,000; agriculture, $17,000; telephone, $4,000; gun owners, $22,600; law-and-order committee, $10,400; Mike Curb Productions, $1,000; accountants, $15,300; electric utilities, $1,100; major corporations, $35,000; apartment owners, $1,800; hotel, $2,500; concrete, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; land development, $5,000; restaurants, $5,000; retailers, $1,000; loan company, $5,000; Attorney General George Deukmejian, $1,000; Senator Bob Beverly, $1,000; Senator H. L. Richardson, $2,000; Senator Ken Maddy, $1,000.
Bill Campbell (R-Whittier) District 33 $447,000	Elections and reapportionment, finance, governmental organization, health and welfare	Agriculture, $27,500; apartments, $1,000; labor, $35,000; oil, $4,000; banks, $11,100; alcoholic beverages, $6,000; cable television, $2,000; grocers, $1,000; manufactured housing, $3,000; doctors, $5,000; automotive, $5,800; optometrists, $2,000; real estate, $6,600; health facilities, $18,100; veterinarians, $1,000; truckers, $4,500; insurance, $11,000; savings and loans, $7,000; emergency medical, $4,000; wood products, $3,000; horse racing, $11,100; land development, $20,500; police, $5,000; pest control, $1,000; retailers, $3,500; electric utilities, $2,300; moving pictures, $1,000; construction, $3,500; accountants, $3,000; restaurants, $1,000; pharmacists, $1,500; dentists, $2,500; waste disposal, $3,000.
John Briggs (R-Fullerton) District 35 $403,000	Banking and commerce, finance, governmental organization, transportation	Food and agriculture, $49,500; insurance, $18,700; bankers, $4,000; alcoholic beverages, $4,000; land development, $35,000; dentists, $7,000; optometrists, $2,300; real estate, $6,800; save our children, $2,000; labor, $7,800; veterinarians, $3,000; truckers, $2,500; horse racing, $7,200; savings and loans, $4,500; billboards, $1,200; oil, $1,000; pest control, $1,000; retailers, $3,800; land developers, $5,800; electric utilities, $1,200; automotive, $4,500; doctors, $6,000; major corporations, $5,000; construction, $5,500; accountants, $1,500; restaurant, $3,000; manufactured housing, $3,000; wood products, $1,000; health facilities, $1,300; Senator Bill Campbell, $12,000.
Paul Carpenter (D-Cypress) District 37 $443,000	Banking and commerce, education, governmental organization, health and welfare, public employment and retirement	Insurance, $4,100; oil, $4,500; banks, $2,500; alcoholic beverages, $4,000; cable television, $2,300; dentists, $5,000; mortgage brokers, $3,000; labor, $31,200; doctors, $3,500; optometrists, $2,000; psychologists, $1,000; land developers, $24,000; hospitals, $5,000; emergency medical, $3,500; wood products, $2,000; savings and loans, $5,500; horse racing, $25,000; taxis, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $2,000; health facilities, $2,500; retailers, $2,300; contractors, $1,000; agriculture, $5,500; accountants, $1,000; major corporations, $1,000; automotive, $1,000; real estate, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; truckers, $1,000; Assemblyman Richard Robinson, $10,000; Senate Democratic colleagues, $95,500.
Jim Ellis (R-San Diego) District 39 $222,000	Banking and commerce, business and professions, elections and reapportionment, governmental	Bankers, $6,000; real estate, $5,500; agriculture, $15,000; veterinarians, $1,000; automotive, $1,500; labor, $1,300; pest control, $1,000; doctors, $10,000; insurance, $1,000; billboards, $1,000; restaurant, $2,000; dentists, $5,000; wood products, $4,000; major corporations, $20,000; mortgage brokers, $2,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; savings and loans, $1,000; con-

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Member	Committees	Contributors
	operations	tractors, $5,500; gun owners, $1,500; land developers, $5,000; accountants, $2,000; mobile-home parks, $1,000; apartments, $3,000; retailers, $1,000; oil, $1,000; swap-meet owners, $1,000; Senator Bill Campbell, $2,000.

ASSEMBLY

Stan Statham (R-Chico) District 1 $139,000	Economic development and planning, elections and reapportionment, governmental organization, rules	Apartments, $2,500; alcoholic beverage, $2,500; dentists, $3,000; doctors, $2,500; labor, $4,400; agriculture, $3,100; wood products, $1,200; horse racing, $3,800; retailers, $2,500; real estate, $3,000; manufacturers, $1,000; truckers, $2,000; accountants, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; banks, $1,000; contractors, $3,000.
Doug Bosco (D-Occidental) District 2 $53,000	Energy and natural resources; finance, insurance and commerce; utilities and energy; ways and means	Wood and lumber, $8,500; bank, $1,500; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $1,500; labor, $3,000; retailers, $1,000; agriculture, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; Assemblyman Art Torres, $1,000.
Wally Herger (R-Yuba City) District 3 $224,000	Agriculture, criminal justice, energy and natural resources, local government	Agriculture, $16,800; gun owners, $12,300; doctors, $5,000; oil, $1,500; banks, $3,500; law-and-order committee, $3,500; veterinarians, $1,500; apartments, $1,000; contractors, $2,000; land developers, $5,000; wood products, $5,000; manufactured housing, $1,000; major corporations, $15,000; real estate, $8,500; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $14,800; other Assembly members, $11,600.
Tom Hannigan (D-Fairfield) District 4 $73,000	Energy and natural resources (chairman), human services, revenue and taxation	Automotive, $1,000; labor, $4,300; wood products, $1,000; agriculture, $2,500; retailers, $2,000; contractors, $2,500; Hughes organization, $1,500; banks, $1,000; land development, $1,000; dentists, $1,000; telephone, $1,000; insurance, $1,000.
Jean Moorhead (D-Carmichael) District 5 $254,000 (Note: Moorhead was elected as a Republican)	Health, judiciary, utilities and energy	Apartment, $3,500; oil, $3,500; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; automotive, $1,500; dentists, $4,500; health facilities, $2,500; nurses, $15,500; optometrists, $1,600; real estate, $12,500; restaurant, $1,000; labor, $7,300; trial lawyers, $3,600; veterinarians, $2,000; wood products, $5,300; insurance, $5,800; horse racing, $1,000; builders, $7,500; agriculture, $9,500; banks, $3,500; doctors, $1,500; accountants, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; professional women, $5,000; computer firm, $1,100; major corporations, $5,000; Republican members of the Assembly, $15,500.
Leroy Greene (D-Sacramento) District 6 $219,000	Education (chairman), business and professions, finance, insurance and commerce	Land developers, $8,600; contractors, $3,500; banks, $3,800; school organizations, $2,500; chiropractors, $1,000; dentists, $1,500; engineers, $2,500; manufactured housing, $2,300; doctors, $6,000; real estate, $4,800; labor, $26,500; veterinarians, $1,000; horse racing, $1,000; retailers, $5,000; major corporations, $15,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $16,600; Assemblyman Mike Roos, $10,000; Assemblyman Willie Brown, $15,000; Assemblyman Wadie Deddeh, $13,000; other Assembly members, $8,500.
Norman Waters (D-Amador County) District 7 $152,000	Water, park and wildlife (chairman), aging, agriculture	Banks, $2,500; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,300; labor, $10,600; wood products, $4,000; agriculture, $13,500; construction, $3,200; retailers, $1,000; major corporations, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; telephone, $1,200; engineers, $5,300.
Don Sebastiani (R-Sonoma) District 8 $255,000	Consumer protection and toxic materials, education	Banks, $5,500; real estate, $14,000; alcoholic beverage, $26,000; land development, $5,000; major corporations, $13,000; dentists, $1,000; agriculture, $16,000; wood products, $7,000; doctors, $10,000; apartments, $1,000; contractors, $5,000; veterinarians, $1,000; gun owners, $2,000; insurance, $1,000; accountants, $2,000; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $7,500; Assemblyman Bob Naylor, $3,000.
William Filante (R-San Rafael) District 9 $234,000	Business and professions (chairman), aging, health, housing and community development	Oil, $2,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $28,500; labor, $4,000; wood products, $3,200; agriculture, $5,000; telephone, $1,200; insurance, $3,700; major corporations, $11,500; contractors, $5,000; gun owners, $8,500; mining, $1,250; law-and-order committee, $1,500; manufactured housing, $1,000; retailers, $1,300; accountants, $1,000; land developers, $5,000; real estate, $8,000; banks, $3,500; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $5,000; Assemblyman Bob Naylor, $2,000; Assemblyman Bill Ivers, $1,000.
William Baker (R-Walnut Creek) District 10 $164,000	Criminal justice, energy and natural resources, ways and means	Agriculture, $6,000; gun owners, $22,300; oil, $1,500; mining, $1,250; law-and-order committee, $4,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; real estate, $5,000; major corporations, $10,000; restaurant, $1,250; apartment, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; doctors, $5,000; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $5,000; Assemblyman Bob Naylor, $1,000.
Robert Campbell (D-Richmond) District 11 $137,000	Agriculture, education, elections and reapportionment, water, parks and wildlife	Labor, $10,000; deaf, $5,000; savings and loans, $3,000; refuse collectors, $2,300; oil, $5,000; jeweler, $5,000; insurance, $5,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; agriculture, $1,000; banks, $1,000; former Assemblyman John Knox, $9,100; various Assembly members, $35,000.
Tom Bates (D-Oakland) District 12 $108,000	Aging, criminal justice, energy and natural resources, health, housing and community development	Labor, $29,000; horse racing, $2,300; mortgage brokers, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; environmentalists, $2,700; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $10,000; other Assembly members, $3,000.
Elihu Harris (D-Berkeley) District 13 $72,000	Judiciary (chairman), criminal justice, labor and employment, transportation	Labor, $1,500; dentists, $1,000; doctors, $1,700; trial lawyers, $1,300; contractors, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; accountants, $1,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $2,000.
Bill Lockyer	Human services (chair-	Labor, $8,700; retailers, $7,000; horse racing, $1,000; insurance, $3,000; dentists, $3,000;

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Member	Committees	Contributors
(D-San Leandro) District 14 $99,000	man), public employees and retirement, revenue and taxation, ways and means	savings and loans, $2,000; automotive, $1,000; pest control, $2,000; doctors, $1,500; banks, $5,200; wood products, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; agriculture, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; accountants, $1,500; grocers, $1,000.
Gilbert Marguth (R-Livermore) District 15 $115,000	Education, energy and natural resources, ways and means	Apartment, $1,000; contractor, $1,000; law-and-order committee, $1,700; oil, $1,500; gun owners, $7,600; bank, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,500; major corporations, $5,000; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $5,000.
Art Agnos (D-San Francisco) District 16 $52,000	Aging, elections and reapportionment, rules, ways and means	Bankers, $2,000; labor, $7,000; cable television, $1,000; applicants attorneys, $1,000; dentists, $3,000; retailers, $2,500; horse racing, $2,500; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $10,000.
Willie L. Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco) District 17 $216,000	Speaker	Driving schools, $1,000; banks, $5,200; applicants attorneys, $2,100; automotive, $5,500; dentists, $2,500; housing council, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $1,200; waterway pilots, $2,000; doctors, $3,000; labor, $8,000; trial lawyers, $3,200; agriculture, $1,000; anesthetics, $1,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; insurance, $2,500; horse racing, $1,000; land development, $2,000; retailers, $1,500; contractors, $1,000; optometrists, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000. (Brown also received numerous large contributions from individuals and businesses.)
Leo McCarthy (D-San Francisco) District 18 $1,188,000	Revenue and taxation, ways and means, finance, insurance and commerce	Agriculture, $18,200; savings and loans, $33,300; oil, $15,000; land development, $43,000; banks, $19,000; alcoholic beverages, $7,600; labor, $81,000; applicants attorneys, $5,500; automotive, $4,100; chiropractors, $7,500; cable television, $5,000; dentists, $17,000; funeral directors, $1,000; health facilities, $2,300; hotels, $3,900; waterway pilots, $2,800; insurance, $16,000; manufactured housing, $7,200; doctors, $8,900; pharmacists, $3,500; real estate, $7,200; trial lawyers, $14,600; veterinarians, $3,800; truckers, $3,000; accountants, $3,600; retailers, $17,000; anesthetics, $2,500; tobacco, $1,000; horse racing, $11,000; contractors, $2,000; police, $5,500; wood products, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; telephone, $1,700; pest control, $1,000; railroad, $1,500; electric utilities, $2,000; entertainment, $7,200; computers, $4,100; thrift and loan, $2,000; grocers, $1,000; Hughes organization, $2,000; osteopaths, $1,000; home loan, $12,500; Assembly members, $118,500. (McCarthy also received numerous large contributions from individuals and businesses.)
Lou Papan (D-Daly City) District 19 $334,000	Rules (chairman), transportation, finance, insurance and commerce	Automotive, $2,500; dentists, $3,000; health facilities, $7,000; housing council, $3,000; mortgage brokers, $10,000; truckers, $2,300; insurance, $47,000; optometrists, $2,000; labor, $13,000; savings and loans, $18,000; horse racing, $3,600; land developers, $3,300; retailers, $3,500; agriculture, $3,500; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; doctors, $9,000; contractors, $1,000; cable television, $1,000; real estate, $3,500; restaurant, $2,000; Hughes organization, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; finance and loan, $8,500; accountants, $2,000; banks, $1,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $30,500; other elected officials, $35,000.
Bob Naylor (R-Redwood City) District 20 $100,000	Education, elections and reapportionment, revenue and taxation	Dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,250; wood products, $2,300; insurance, $1,000; restaurants, $1,400; agriculture, $3,000; retailers, $1,250; health facilities, $1,750; banks, $3,000; contractors, $2,000; real estate, $3,000; accountants, $1,000.
Byron Sher (D-Mountain View) District 21 $89,000	Consumer protection and toxic materials, energy and natural resources, revenue and taxation, utilities and energy	Chiropractors, $1,000; insurance, $2,000; labor, $33,500; doctors, $3,000; applicants attorneys, $2,500; trial lawyers, $5,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $4,900.
Ernest Konnyu (R-Cupertino) District 22 $158,000	Consumer protection and toxic materials, housing and community development, human services, revenue and taxation	Contractors, $3,000; real estate, $3,000; doctors, $3,000; chiropractors, $1,000; wood products, $3,000; telephone, $1,300; law-and-order committee, $2,000; insurance, $1,000; gun owners, $9,500; manufactured housing, $1,000; right to work, $8,400; veterinarians, $1,000; banks, $2,500; agriculture, $8,500; major corporations, $10,000; restaurants, $1,000.
John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose) District 23 $155,000	Ways and means (chairman), constitutional amendments, education	Insurance, $2,000; doctors, $4,200; labor, $32,000; horse racing, $1,100; retailers, $1,500; dentists, $1,000; automotive, $2,000; restaurants, $1,000; theaters, $1,500; police, $1,100; mobilehome parks, $1,000; accountants, $1,000; contractors, $1,000; applicants attorneys, $2,000; chiropractors, $1,000.
Dom Cortese (D-San Jose) District 24 $194,000	Economic development and planning, governmental organization, local government, revenue and taxation	Labor, $30,000; manufactured housing, $1,000; insurance, $2,000; real estate, $2,000; alcoholic beverages, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; doctors, $5,000; trial lawyers, $3,100; land development, $1,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $45,000; other legislators, $4,300.
Alister McAlister (D-San Jose) District 25 $127,000	Criminal justice, judiciary, labor and employment, finance, insurance and commerce	Apartments, $1,000; insurance, $5,000; labor, $1,000; bankers, $10,000; pest control, $1,000; doctors, $7,000; agriculture, $3,500; savings and loans, $6,000; applicants attorneys, $3,500; cable television, $2,000; automotive, $1,000; waterway pilots, $2,500; mortgage brokers, $1,000; anesthetics, $1,000; real estate, $5,000; compensation defense lawyers, $1,500.
Pat Johnston (D-Stockton) District 26 $387,000	Aging, agriculture, education, health	Labor, $102,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; chiropractors, $3,000; applicants attorneys, $1,000; insurance, $2,000; trial lawyers, $5,000; land development, $1,000; nurses, $1,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $92,500; other elected officials, $22,000.

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Member	Committees	Contributors
John Thurman (D-Modesto) District 27 $529,000 (includes Senate special election)	Agriculture (chairman), aging, local government	Agriculture, $59,000; apartments, $1,000; labor, $43,000; contractors, $3,500; banks, $2,500; alcoholic beverages, $2,000; applicants attorneys, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; land developers, $6,500; health facilities, $3,500; doctors, $15,500; real estate, $4,000; trial lawyers, $1,500; veterinarians, $3,000; truckers, $3,500; savings and loans, $5,000; chemical, $1,000; wood products, $3,000; insurance, $5,000; housing council, $1,000; horse racing, $2,000; mobilehome parks, $2,000; oil, $2,500; telephone $2,000; pest control, $1,000; retailers, $2,500; electric utilities, $1,850; major corporations, $2,500; accountants, $1,500; restaurants, $1,000; Senator Paul Carpenter, $87,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $10,500; other elected officials, $55,000.
Sam Farr (D-Monterey) District 28 $234,000	Business and professions, constitutional amendments, education, energy and natural resources	Insurance, $2,000; labor, $17,000; dentists, $2,000; savings and loans, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,500; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $44,300; other legislators, $70,000.
Carol Hallett (R-San Luis Obispo) District 29 $347,000	Agriculture, elections and reapportionment	Agriculture, $41,000; apartments, $1,000; banks, $5,000; construction, $3,000; insurance, $7,500; dentists, $10,000; labor, $6,000; truckers, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; grocers, $1,000; pest control, $1,000; professional women, $1,000; land development, $1,000; electric utilities, $1,200; automotive, $1,000; doctors, $3,000; savings and loan, $5,000; real estate, $2,000; mobilehome parks, $2,000; horse racing, $2,000; anesthetics, $1,500; accountants, $3,500; manufacturers, $1,800; electric utilities, $1,000; trial lawyers, $5,000; veterinarians, $1,500; hospitals, $1,000.
Jim Costa (D-Fresno) District 30 $155,000	Agriculture, governmental organization, housing and community development (chairman), human services	Agriculture, $8,500; dentists, $2,000; labor, $5,000; doctors, $2,200; truckers, $3,000; savings and loans, $1,000; health facilities, $1,500; mortgage brokers, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; retailers, $3,600; Assemblyman Frank Vicencia, $3,100.
Richard Lehman (D-Fresno) District 31 $114,000	Economic development and planning, elections and reapportionment, ways and means, water, parks and wildlife	Agriculture, $15,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; dentists, $2,000; housing council, $1,000; doctors, $1,000; labor, $2,800; trial lawyers, $1,000; chiropractors, $1,000; wood products, $2,500; insurance, $1,500; horse racing, $3,400; mortgage brokers, $1,000; savings and loan, $1,000; retailers, $3,000; banks, $1,000.
Gordon Duffy (R-Hanford) District 32 $213,000	Agriculture, utilities and energy (chairman), ways and means	Dentists, $5,500; automotive, $1,000; optometrists, $1,000; agriculture, $21,500; pest control, $1,000; restaurant, $1,000; alcoholic beverage, $1,000; bankers, $3,000; anesthetics, $1,500; real estate, $5,000; pharmacists, $1,000; contractors, $3,500; health facilities, $1,400; apartments, $1,000; oil, $2,000; insurance, $2,500; accountants, $1,000; labor, $3,500; veterinarians, $2,000; nurses, $3,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; computer firm, $1,000; wood products, $2,000; electric utilities, $1,000; doctors, $5,000; mobilehome parks, $1,500.
Don Rogers (R-Bakersfield) District 33 $103,000	Economic development and planning (chairman), energy and natural resources, water, parks and wildlife	Bankers, $3,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,000; wood products, $2,000; oil, $1,000; contractors, $2,000; agriculture, $1,000; real estate, $2,000.
Phil Wyman (R-Lancaster) District 34 $131,000	Constitutional amendments (chairman), judiciary, transportation, ways and means	Bankers, $1,000; doctors, $9,000; automotive, $1,000; dentists, $3,000; labor, $3,900; real estate, $4,000; wood products, $2,000; agriculture, $7,000; gun owners, $1,100; oil, $6,400; accountants, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; contractors, $2,000.
Gary Hart (D-Santa Barbara) District 35 $142,000	Constitutional amendments, education, judiciary, ways and means	Insurance, $1,000; labor, $21,000; applicants attorneys, $1,900; retailers, $2,500; savings and loans, $1,000; trial lawyers, $5,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $25,000; other Assembly members, $20,000.
Charles Imbrecht (R-Ventura) District 36 $181,000	Judiciary, ways and means, finance, insurance and commerce	Alcoholic beverages, $1,500; construction, $5,000; dentists, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; doctors, $7,000; real estate, $3,300; labor, $5,500; trial lawyers, $2,800; wood products, $3,500; agriculture, $7,500; insurance, $2,000; telephone, $1,200; horse racing, $2,000; pest control, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; automotive, $1,000; Hughes organization, $1,000; health facilities, $1,000; accountants, $1,500; savings and loans, $1,000; banks, $3,000; land developers, $2,000; home loans, $2,000.
Cathie Wright (R-Chatsworth) District 37 $187,000	Constitutional amendments, consumer protection and toxic materials, criminal justice, economic development and planning, local government	Oil, $3,200; agriculture, $10,000; construction, $3,000; manufactured housing, $1,000; gun owners, $3,500; apartments, $2,500; law-and-order committee, $1,700; wood products, $2,000; real estate, $6,200; banks, $2,000; land development, $9,500; mobilehome parks, $1,000; major corporations, $10,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $5,000; Republican members of the Assembly, $16,000.
Marian La Follette (R-Woodland Hills) District 38 $148,000	Aging, criminal justice, revenue and taxation, transportation	Savings and loans, $6,800; doctors, $8,000; agriculture, $4,000; major corporations, $7,500; real estate, $7,000; dentists, $2,000; wood products, $2,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; apartments, $2,000; banks, $1,250; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $7,500; other legislators, $5,500.
Richard Katz (D-Sepulveda) District 39 $179,000	Consumer protection and toxic materials, economic development and planning, housing and community development, water, parks and wildlife	Savings and loans, $2,000; labor, $35,000; trial lawyers, $6,000; mortgage bankers, $1,000; real estate, $1,400; housing council, $1,000; theaters, $1,000; Assemblyman Richard Robinson, $17,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $10,000; other elected officials, $27,000.

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Member	Committees	Contributors
Tom Bane (D-Van Nuys) District 40 $290,000	Business and professions, governmental organization, utilities and energy, finance, insurance and commerce	Banks, $3,100; savings and loans, $50,300; builders, $3,500; applicants attorneys, $1,600; chiropractors, $5,500; cable television, $1,400; dentists, $2,000; insurance, $5,200; doctors, $9,100; optometrists, $2,800; real estate, $1,300; labor, $12,200; trial lawyers, $2,700; emergency medical, $1,000; agriculture, $1,400; mortgage brokers, $2,000; anesthetics, $1,700; horse racing, $7,200; police, $2,400; thrift and loans, $1,500.
Pat Nolan (R-Glendale) District 41 $187,000	Health, rules, finance, insurance and commerce	Oil, $2,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; health facilities, $1,200; dentists, $3,000; mortgage brokers, $1,600; doctors, $5,000; real estate, $6,500; wood products, $2,000; insurance, $8,000; billboards, $1,000; retailers, $1,300; veterinarians, $1,000; contractors, $1,500; bankers, $1,500; emergency medical, $1,500; savings and loans, $1,000.
William Ivers (R-Pasadena) District 42 $92,000	Health, ways and means, finance, insurance and commerce	Oil, $1,500; automotive, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $5,300; insurance, $1,800; real estate, $3,000; contractors, $1,500; wood products, $1,000.
Howard Berman (D-Los Angeles) District 43 $763,000	Business and professions, elections and reapportionment, judiciary, ways and means	Entertainment, $18,500; labor, $95,000; banks, $5,000; applicants attorneys, $5,500; health facilities, $1,600; thrift and loans, $6,000; automotive, $2,000; chiropractors, $1,500; cable television; $3,000; dentists, $7,000; housing council, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $15,500; doctors, $8,500; trial lawyers, $19,000; veterinarians, $1,000; truckers, $1,000; land developers, $14,500; savings and loans, $22,500; insurance, $6,100; anesthetics, $1,200; aviation, $7,600; finance and loans, $2,600; agriculture, $11,500; police, $3,600; horse racing, $3,000; billboards, $1,400; electric utility, $1,400; pharmacists, $1,500; swap meet owners, $2,500; accountants, $2,500; computer firm, $4,500; condominiums, $5,000; Hughes organization, $3,000; retailers, $3,800; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $3,500; other elected officials, $40,500.
Mel Levine (D-Los Angeles) District 44 $215,000	Criminal justice, elections and reapportionment, energy and natural resources, utilities and energy, ways and means	Labor, $7,700; health facilities, $1,200; cable television, $1,800; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $1,500; trial lawyers, $2,100; land developers, $6,100; savings and loans, $3,700; oil, $4,000; billboards, $1,400; entertainment, $2,500; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $2,000; banks, $1,000; real estate, $1,000.
Herschel Rosenthal (D-Los Angeles) District 45 $110,000	Governmental organization, health, labor and employment, rules	Chiropractors, $1,000; dentists, $1,500; labor, $7,300; doctors, $2,000; land developers, $1,200; horse racing, $2,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; contractors, $2,000; banks, $1,000; health facilities, $1,300; wood products, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $1,500; entertainment, $1,500.
Mike Roos (D-Los Angeles) District 46 $228,000	Elections and rapportionment, governmental organization, housing and community development, utilities and energy	Apartments, $1,000; entertainment, $3,000; oil, $1,000; banks, $6,500; alcoholic beverages, $1,200; applicants attorneys, $1,000; health facilities, $2,750; automotive, $1,000; housing council, $2,000; labor, $12,100; doctors, $8,000; real estate, $2,000; restaurants, $1,000; dentists, $3,000; mortgage brokers, $3,000; retailers, $3,000; emergency medical, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; insurance, $4,300; savings and loans, $7,500; billboards, $2,500; telephone, $1,000; horse racing, $2,000; land development, $13,300; police, $3,300; mobile-home parks, $2,500; trial lawyers, $1,000; wood products, $2,000; thrift and loans, $1,500; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $1,000.
Teresa Hughes (D-Los Angeles) District 47 $80,000	Business and professions, education, health, housing and community development	Savings and loans, $4,500; banks, $2,500; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $3,000; labor, $8,500; real estate, $1,200; agriculture, $1,000; professional women, $1,000; land developers, $1,000.
Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles) District 48 $68,000	Elections and reapportionment, judiciary, rules, ways and means	Trial lawyers, $3,500; land developers, $1,500; retailers, $1,500; labor, $8,000; oil, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $3,300; automotive, $1,000; accountants, $1,100; dentists, $2,500.
Gwen Moore (D-Los Angeles) District 49 $89,000	Criminal justice, human services, public employees and retirement, revenue and taxation, transportation	Oil, $2,000; banks, $2,800; alcoholic beverages, $2,300; dentists, $1,000; labor, $6,800; savings and loans, $4,300; wood products, $1,100; land developers, $1,300; doctors, $1,000; horse racing, $1,000; entertainment, $2,300; insurance, $2,000; agriculture, $1,000; Hughes organization, $3,000; mortgage brokers, $2,600; retailers, $1,000; professional women, $1,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $2,000.
Curtis Tucker (D-Inglewood District 50 $131,000	Health, local government, public employees and retirement (chairman), finance, insurance and commerce	Labor, $8,800; automotive, $1,000; dentists, $3,000; doctors, $9,500; savings and loans, $1,300; police, $3,000; entertainment, $3,000; alcoholic beverages, $2,200; contractors, $1,000.
Marilyn Ryan (R-Redondo Beach) District 51 $91,000	Housing and community development, human services, labor and employment, utilities and energy	Banks, $2,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,000; real estate, $2,200; labor, $1,500; savings and loans, $1,000; insurance, $1,000; contractors, $1,500; retailers, $1,300; automotive, $1,000.
Gerald Felando (R-San Pedro) District 52 $281,000	Aging (chairman), health, housing and community development	Oil, $3,900; automotive, $1,000; dentists, $7,000; real estate, $7,900; restaurants, $1,000; labor, $1,000; truckers, $1,300; emergency medical, $3,500; wood products, $2,300; doctors, $16,800; gun owners, $7,800; retailers, $3,300; land developers, $5,000; veterinarians, $2,000; agriculture, $11,300; health facilities, $1,100; banks, $2,000; accountants, $1,500; insurance, $1,000; major corporations, $10,000; builders, $4,000; Assemblyman William Ivers, $1,000.

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Member	Committees	Contributors
Richard Floyd (D-Hawthorne) District 53 $157,000	Criminal justice, labor and employment, revenue and taxation, water, parks and wildlife	Labor, $37,700; automotive, $1,000; oil, $5,000; deaf, $5,000; mortgage brokers, $1,300; housing, $4,000; entertainment, $1,000; horse racing, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; police, $1,000; trial lawyers, $5,000; savings and loans, $1,000; Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, $5,000; other elected officials, $10,500.
Frank Vicencia (D-Paramount) District 54 $211,000	Governmental organization (chairman), transportation, utilities and energy, finance, insurance and commerce	Savings and loans, $1,000; banks, $5,500; alcoholic beverages, $4,300; applicants attorneys, $1,000; health facilities, $3,000; cable television, $1,000; dentists, $3,000; mortgage brokers, $2,300; manufactured housing, $1,600; automotive, $2,000; labor, $5,000; horse racing, $19,500; insurance, $3,500; agriculture, $2,700; retailers, $3,500; wood products, $1,500; doctors, $1,500; thrift and loans, $1,500; land developers, $2,500; contractors, $2,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; oil, $1,000.
Richard Alatorre (D-Los Angeles) District 55 $189,000	Elections and reapportionment (chairman), labor and employment, utilities and energy	Police, $5,500; podiatrists, $1,000; labor, $26,000; insurance, $1,000; restaurants, $1,250; home loans, $1,500; contractors, $1,000; retailers, $1,000. (Alatorre also received numerous large contributions from individuals and businesses.)
Art Torres (D-Los Angeles) District 56 $171,000	Economic development and planning, health (chairman), judiciary, finance, insurance and commerce	Oil, $2,500; banks, $8,400; cable television, $1,500; doctors, $2,000; pharmacists, $1,000; labor, $9,400; trial lawyers, $3,000; dentists, $5,000; acupuncturists, $4,500; mortgage brokers, $3,300; health facilities, $1,000; optometrists, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; nurses, $1,000; agriculture, $2,500; contractors, $1,000.
Dave Elder (D-Long Beach) District 57 $145,000	Consumer protection and toxic materials, health, public employees and retirement, revenue and taxation	Labor, $14,400; apartments, $1,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; automotive, $1,000; cable television, $1,400; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $2,300; real estate, $4,900; trial lawyers, $1,800; savings and loans, $2,300; insurance, $1,000; accountants, $1,000; contractors, $1,000; major corporations, $1,000; bankers, $1,500; wood products, $1,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $2,500.
Dennis Brown (R-Long Beach) District 58 $249,000	Constitutional amendments, elections and reapportionment, governmental organization, revenue and taxation	Real estate, $10,900; agriculture, $7,500; horse racing, $2,000; law-and-order committee, $1,500; oil, $2,500; doctors, $8,000; wood products, $3,200; dentists, $3,000; banks, $4,500; alcoholic beverages, $1,500; apartments, $2,500; optometrists, $1,000; gun owners, $4,000; contractors, $3,000; veterinarians, $1,000; savings and loans, $1,300; mobilehome parks, $1,000; telephone, $1,000; land development, $1,500; insurance, $1,000; billboards, $1,200; accountants, $1,000.
Matthew Martinez (D-Montebello) District 59 $130,000	Agriculture, criminal justice, human services, local government	Oil, $25,000; deaf, $5,000; police, $1,000; labor, $6,000; entertainment, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; savings and loans, $2,000; contractors, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; agriculture, $1,000; banks, $2,000. (Martinez also received a number of large donations from individuals and businesses.)
Sally Tanner (D-El Monte) District 60 $137,000	Consumer protection and toxic materials (chairwoman), education, governmental organization, labor and employment	Dentists, $1,000; labor, $13,750; veterinarians, $1,000; wood products, $3,000; billboards, $1,000; retailers, $2,500; major corporations, $2,500; contractors, $2,500; accountants, $1,000.
Richard Mountjoy (R-Arcadia) District 61 $80,000	Elections and reapportionment, rules, governmental organization, transportation	Oil, $1,000; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,000; contractors, $6,000; real estate, $3,300; banks, $1,000; wood products, $1,000.
William Lancaster (R-Covina) District 62 $169,000	Rules, transportation, finance, insurance and commerce	Banks, $4,300; alcoholic beverages, $1,000; automotive, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; mortgage brokers, $2,600; insurance, $2,500; doctors, $7,500; labor, $1,800; wood products, $1,000; horse racing, $1,000; contractors, $4,000; agriculture, $2,000; retailers, $1,000; real estate, $3,000; savings and loans, $2,000; labor, $2,000; thrift and loan, $1,500.
Bruce Young (D-Norwalk) District 63 $326,000	Transportation (chairman), health, housing and community development, finance, insurance and commerce	Labor, $16,000; retailers, $7,000; applicants attorneys, $5,000; health facilities, $3,500; pest control, $1,000; theaters, $2,700; insurance, $9,500; police, $2,500; agriculture, $9,000; savings and loans, $28,000; emergency medical, $1,000; truckers, $3,000; banks, $13,000; restaurants, $1,000; manufacturers, $3,000; mortgage brokers, $7,900; franchisers, $2,500; automotive, $2,000; home loans, $2,500; oil, $1,100; cable television, $5,600; dentists, $3,000; refuse disposal, $1,000; housing council, $1,500; real estate, $2,500; doctors, $3,300; land developers, $8,500; mobilehome parks, $2,100; Hughes organization, $1,000; marriage therapists, $1,500; contractors, $2,000; major corporations, $2,500; billboards, $1,000; veterinarians, $1,000; defense attorneys, $1,000; accountants, $1,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $2,000. (Young also received numerous contributions from individuals and businesses.)
David Stirling (R-Whittier) District 64 $136,000	Business and professions, criminal justice, human services, judiciary	Apartments, $1,000; banks, $3,750; civil engineers, $2,000; dentists, $3,000; doctors, $3,250; labor, $3,000; veterinarians, $1,000; real estate, $4,100; wood products, $1,000; insurance, $1,000; telephone, $1,000; land development, $1,000; police, $1,000; pest control, $1,000; employment agencies, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; oil, $1,000; accountants, $1,000; contractors, $1,000; hospitals, $1,000; automotive, $1,000.
Jim Cramer (D-Ontario) District 65 $224,000	Agriculture, criminal justice, local government, water, parks and wildlife	Labor, $16,500; insurance, $2,000; oil, $8,000; computers, $6,200; mortgage brokers, $1,000; entertainment, $1,000; savings and loan, $1,000; trial lawyers, $5,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $53,000; other elected officials, $58,000. (Cramer also received large contributions from individuals and businesses.)
Terry Goggin (D-San Bernardino) District 66	Criminal justice (chairman), elections and reapportionment, energy and	Insurance, $6,000; labor, $6,200; agriculture, $1,000; housing council, $1,000; doctors, $1,500; land development, $5,000; motorcycles, $1,000; retailers, $1,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $3,500.

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Member	Committees	Contributors
$113,000	natural resources, ways and means	
William Leonard (R-Redlands) District 67 $120,000	Education, judiciary, utilities and energy, ways and means	Doctors, $4,600; labor, $1,500; telephone, $1,200; real estate, $6,500; wood products, $1,000; contractors, $3,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; dentists, $1,000; retailers, $1,500.
Walter Ingalls (D-Riverside) District 68 $155,000	Economic development and planning, judiciary, transportation	Labor, $9,100; mortgage brokers, $9,500; automotive, $1,500; dentists, $3,000; doctors, $7,000; agriculture, $8,800; insurance, $1,500; contractors, $1,000; real estate, $4,300; land developers, $1,000; trial lawyers, $5,000; banks, $3,000; retailers, $4,000; savings and loans, $2,000; wood products, $1,000; restaurants, $1,000; health facilities, $1,500; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $2,200.
Ross Johnson (R-Fullerton) District 69 $175,000	Elections and reapportionment, ways and means, finance, insurance and commerce	Oil, $1,000; banks, $3,500; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $5,000; real estate, $4,800; labor, $5,500; trial lawyers, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; gun owners, $33,000; horse racing, $1,250; savings and loans, $3,500; insurance, $2,500; major corporations, $6,500; retailers, $1,000; land developers, $1,000; telephone, $1,000; manufacturers, $1,000; agriculture, $5,900; mortgage brokers, $1,000; law-and-order committee, $1,200; contractors, $3,500; veterinarians, $1,000.
John Lewis (R-Orange) District 70 $126,000	Health, public employees and retirement, revenue and taxation, finance, insurance and commerce	Doctors, $5,000; gun owners, $34,800; right to work, $5,800; law-and-order committee, $5,000; agriculture, $2,500; wood products, $2,000; real estate, $3,000; dentists, $1,000; insurance, $1,000; builders, $2,500; banks, $2,500; savings and loans, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; apartments, $1,000.
Chet Wray (D-Garden Grove) District 71 $278,000	Labor and employment (chairman), governmental organization, transportation	Alcoholic beverages, $4,200; automotive, $1,500; cable television, $1,200; dentists, $1,000; labor, $49,000; mortgage brokers, $3,500; real estate, $1,500; trial lawyers, $4,500; land developers, $6,100; savings and loans, $6,200; insurance, $1,300; horse racing $5,300; billboards, $1,000; doctors, $5,000; retailers, $1,000; chiropractors, $3,000; Assemblyman Leo McCarthy, $13,300; other elected officials, $57,000.
Richard Robinson (D-Santa Ana) District 72 $339,000	Constitutional amendments, judiciary, ways and means, finance, insurance and commerce	Driving schools, $1,000; insurance, $44,000; apartments, $2,200; bankers, $3,800; cable television, $1,500; dentists, $3,000; hotels, $1,000; housing council, $1,000; mortgage brokers, $4,000; doctors, $4,500; restaurants, $1,000; real estate, $2,300; labor, $10,500; savings and loans, $30,000; land developers, $17,800; oil, $6,500; horse racing, $3,000; mobilehome parks, $1,500; agriculture, $2,000; home loans, $4,500; entertainment, $1,500; thrift and loan, $1,500; builders, $3,000; retailers, $2,800; applicants attorneys, $1,000; wood products, $2,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $1,300.
Nolan Frizzelle (R-Huntington Beach) District 73 $149,000	Governmental organization, labor and employment, transportation, ways and means	Gun owners, $11,600; agriculture, $1,000; law-and-order committee, $3,000; oil, $1,000; Senator H. L. Richardson, $10,000. (Most of Frizzelle's money came from Republican Party organizations.)
Marian Bergeson (R-Newport Beach) District 74 $110,000	Education, labor and employment, public employees and retirement	Banks, $2,000; land development, $7,300; real estate, $5,500; doctors, $3,000; dentists, $2,000; agriculture, $1,000; retailers, $2,000; wood products, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,000.
David Kelley (R-Palm Desert) District 75 $136,000	Agriculture, labor and employment, revenue and taxation, water, parks and wildlife	Agriculture, $11,800; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; veterinarians, $1,000; banks, $1,000; retailers, $2,000; real estate, $3,500; contractors, $2,500.
Robert Frazee (R-Carlsbad) District 76 $89,000	Local government (chairman), energy and natural resources, utilities and energy	Dentists, $2,000; automotive, $1,000; doctors, $2,200; real estate, $7,400; labor, $2,000; contractors, $1,000; wood products, $1,000; banks, $1,000; retailers, $1,800.
Larry Stirling (R-La Mesa) District 77 $185,000	Business and professions, judiciary, finance, insurance and commerce, public employees and retirement, water, parks and wildlife	Banks, $3,500; agriculture, $10,000; doctors, $8,000; real estate, $5,000; land developers, $4,500; wood products, $1,000; trial lawyers, $1,000; apartments, $2,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; veterinarians, $1,000; dentists, $2,000; oil, $2,000; retailers, $1,200; contractors, $5,000; guns, $1,600; major corporations, $10,000; mortgage brokers, $1,000; Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, $7,500; other elected officials, $2,000.
Larry Kapiloff (D-San Diego) District 78 $222,000	Energy and natural resources, revenue and taxation, rules, ways and means	Labor, $42,500; trial lawyers, $1,500; save the anchovy, $2,000; dentists, $1,000; Hughes organization, $2,000; applicants attorneys, $1,900; retailers, $3,000; Assemblyman Howard Berman, $35,600; other elected officials, $51,300.
Peter Chacon (D-San Diego) District 79 $70,000	Aging, consumer protection and toxic materials, public employees and retirement, ways and means	Dentists, $1,500; doctors, $2,200; trial lawyers, $1,500; labor, $3,000.
Wadie Deddeh (D-Chula Vista) District 80 $125,000	Revenue and taxation (chairman), governmental organization, transportation, finance, insurance and commerce	Automotive, $2,500; labor, $11,800; trial lawyers, $1,000; police, $1,600; banks, $2,000; cable television, $2,000; dentists, $2,000; doctors, $3,000; truckers, $2,000; insurance, $1,000; pest control, $1,000; agriculture, $2,500; real estate, $1,000; mobilehome parks, $1,000; accountants, $1,000; retailers, $2,500.

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ROLL CALL

Time for charades

In only a few months, the secretary of state's office will begin the paperwork parade that will lead to the 1982 state elections. And as yet, potential candiates for legislative and congressional seats have no idea what shape the state's districts will take following the census of 1980. For the past seven months, the Legislature has been working on reapportionment behind closed doors. Rumors have flowed freely in the Capitol. A variety of redistricting plans have been suggested to lawmakers. But as yet there has been no indication that the legislative leadership is ready to announce how the lines will probably be drawn once the ceremonial public hearings are out of the way.

The Legislature recessed in July for a summer vacation with the state's 165 districts still in the balance. Redistricting committee chairmen Dan Boatwright of the Senate and Richard Alatorre of the Assembly announced that hearings would be held in August to give the public an opportunity to present proposals. Unless a new brand of politics has been discovered in the past few weeks, these hearings will largely be charades. The real work of redistricting is done in top-secret rooms where only the trusted few are allowed to tread. Some time soon, however, the legislative leadership will have to let the product of months of wheeling and dealing see the light of day. Getting to that point will be the prime mission of the Legislature after it returns from recess this month.

How soon must a reapportionment bill be passed so that new districts can be used in the 1982 elections? The absolute deadline, according to the secretary of state's office, would be January 30th. That's because candidates can start filing declarations of intent to run for legislative seats the following day.

Before departing, legislators coped briefly with the Mediterranean fruit fly controversy affecting the southern end of the San Francisco Bay Area. The lawmaker action turned out to be rather meaningless because Governor Brown ordered aerial spraying of the area before any measure could reach his desk. Earlier, the governor's proposal for a quarter-cent increase in the sales tax for 10 years to finance an anti-crime campaign was changed significantly. As the bill now stands, the increase would be one cent for one year — a proposal that would raise $2 billion.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-July. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y — Yes **N — No**
***— Absent or not voting**

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 27 votes)

SENATE (23D, 17R)	SB 12	SB 33	SB 732	SB 1231	SB 153	SB 110	SJR 11	SB 440	SB 884	SB 1199
Alquist (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ayala (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Beverly (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Boatwright (D)	*	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Briggs (R)	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	N
Campbell (R)	N	*	*	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	*
Carpenter (D)	N	*	Y	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Craven (R)	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Davis (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Dills (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*
Doolittle (R)	N	N	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Ellis (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Foran (D)	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Garamendi (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	
Garcia, A. (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	
Garcia, M. (R)	*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Greene (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*	Y	Y	N	
Holmdahl (D)	*	N	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	N	*
Johnson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Keene (D)	*	*	N	N	*	Y	Y	*	*	N
Maddy (R)	N	N	Y	N	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Marks (R)	*	N	*	N	*	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Mello (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*	
Mills (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	N	Y	*	*	
Montoya (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N
Nielsen (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	*
O'Keefe (R)	*	N	Y	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Petris (D)	*	Y	N	N	*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Presley (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Rains (D)	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	
Richardson (R)	*	N	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y	
Robbins (D)	*	*	*	N	*	*	*	*	*	Y
Roberti (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Russell (R)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Schmitz (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	N
Sieroty (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Speraw (R)	*	Y	Y	*	*	N	N	Y	Y	N
Stiern (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y
Vuich (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Watson (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	

SENATE

ENVIRONMENT

SB 12 (Garamendi) — Proposed $85 million Lake Tahoe land acquisition bond issue. Assembly amendments rejected, 17-10.

SB 33 (Presley) — Establishes annual vehicle smog inspection program. Assembly amendments rejected, 18-17.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

SB 732 (Montoya) — Establishes 24-hour waiting period before an abortion can be performed. Passed, 22-11.

SB 1231 (Ellis) — Prohibits insurance companies from providing elective-abortion coverage except as an optional rider. Defeated, 18-17.

MISCELLANEOUS

SB 153 (Presley) — Proposed $495 million bond issue for prisons. Urgency clause defeated, 23-3 (27 votes required).

SB 110 (Alquist) — Annual budget act, totaling $26 billion. Passed, 35-4.

SJR 11 (Petris) — Ratification of proposed amendment to federal Constitution granting congressional representation to the District of Columbia. Defeated, 12-23.

SB 440 (Alquist) — Requires that the state director of transportation be a licensed civil engineer. Urgency clause rejected, 22-9.

SB 884 (Presley) — Places conflict-of-interest restrictions on legislators. Bill returned to committee for amendment, 19-16.

SB 1199 (Marks) — Requires parties to disclose income-tax returns in certain domestic-relations cases. Passed, 21-10.

ASSEMBLY

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONS

AB 902 (Young) — Restricts beer manufacturers and wholesalers from charging customers different prices. Passed, 54-19.

AB 1143 (Bates) — Requires dentists to meet education requirements before they can renew their licenses. Failed, 38-36 (41 votes required).

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EDUCATION

AB 399 (Leonard) — Requires that instructional materials in the public schools teach high moral standards and other specified values. Passed, 46-31.

AB 757 (Hart) — Requires that teachers pass proficiency tests before being allowed to get credentials. Passed, 66-7.

EMPLOYMENT

AB 129 (Lockyer) — Establishes salary standards for female-dominated civil-service jobs. Passed, 50-27.

AB 1693 (Tucker) — Allows agency-shop agreements to be negotiated between local governments and labor organizations. Passed, 42-31.

JUSTICE

AB 629 (Kapiloff) — Doubles the fines for such crimes as forgery, grand theft and dog stealing. Passed, 49-21.

AB 909 (Goggin) — Requires law enforcement agencies to make information on criminal incidents available to the public. Passed, 42-31.

AB 1172 (Hannigan) — Makes the crime of possession of a loaded firearm in a public place a felony instead of a misdemeanor. Passed, 55-22.

MISCELLANEOUS

AB 256 (McCarthy) — Prohibits discrimination against families with children in the rental of housing units. Passed, 41-29.

SB 110 (Alquist) — The 1981-82 budget act totaling $26 billion. Passed, 54-26.

SB 153 (Presley) — Proposed $495 million bond issue for prison facilities. Passed, 55-18.

ASSEMBLY (49D, 31R)	AB 902	AB 1143	AB 399	AB 757	AB 129	AB 1693	AB 629	AB 909	AB 1172	AB 256	SB 110	SB 153
Agnos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Alatorre (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Baker (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Bane (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bates (D)	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bergeson (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	*	N	N	N
Berman (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bosco (D)	Y	N	N	*	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brown, D. (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Brown, W. (D)	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Cortese (D)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Costa (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cramer (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deddeh (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	*	Y	Y
Duffy (R)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	N	*	N	N	N	Y	N
Elder (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Farr (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Felando (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Filante (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	R	Y	N
Floyd (D)	*	*	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Frazee (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Frizzelle (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Goggin (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greene (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hallett (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Hannigan (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Harris (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hart (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Herger (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	*
Hughes (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Imbrecht (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ingalls (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ivers (R)	*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y
Johnson (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Johnston (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Katz (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kelley (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Konnyu (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
LaFollette (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	*	Y	N	N	N
Lancaster (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Lehman (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leonard (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Levine (D)	Y	Y	N	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Lewis (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Lockyer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marguth (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Martinez (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y
McAlister (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCarthy (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moore (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moorhead (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mountjoy (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	*	N	N
Naylor (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Nolan (R)	N	N	Y	*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Papan (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Robinson (D)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y
Rogers (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	*	
Roos (D)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rosenthal (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ryan (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	N	N	N
Sebastiani (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Sher (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Statham (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Stirling, D. (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Stirling, L. (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	*	N	Y	N	N
Tanner (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Torres (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y
Tucker (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y
Vicencia (D)	*	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y
Waters, M. (D)	*	*	N	*	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	*	Y
Waters, N. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wray (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wright (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Wyman (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Young (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*	

SIGNIFICANT COURT ACTIONS

Governor Jerry Brown filled the final vacancy on the state Supreme Court June 25th by nominating presiding Alameda County Superior Court Judge Allen E. Broussard, 52, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of former Justice William Clark, now undersecretary of state. In a sense, however, Broussard will be replacing the late Wiley Manuel in the "black seat" on the seven-justice panel. Brown had previously nominated Appellate Justice Otto Kaus of Los Angeles to succeed Manuel.

The only opposition to Broussard's nomination was voiced by an Alameda County group called Citizens for Law and Order, which vowed to fight his confirmation on the grounds that his sentencing practices have been too lenient. But Alameda County prosecutors said they would support the nomination and predicted that Broussard would be an independent thinker on the high court.

Altough Broussard has served on the bench for 16 years and was the first black elected president of the California Judges Association, he has provided no track record upon which to assess his probable course on the Supreme Court.

Who holds the ultimate power of the pursestrings in California, the Legislature or the state Supreme Court? In a 5-2 decision, the high court ordered the state to pay $40,000 in legal fees to two San Francisco attorneys, Ephraim Margolin and Richard Kaplan, even though the Legislature had refused on more than one occasion to appropriate the funds.

The high court tried to use soothing language to avoid a constitutional confrontation, but the majority warned the Legislature that it cannot regard itself as a "super-court" paying attorneys fees in some cases but not in others, depending upon the outcome. Writing for the majority, Justice Mathew O. Tobriner emphasized that "the Legislature enjoys no constitutional prerogative to disregard the authority of final court judgments resolving specific controversies within the judiciary's domain."

Justice Frank Richardson dissented on the grounds that the majority had "grossly interfered" with the legislative power of the pursestrings. Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird dissented for the opposite reason. She said the court should get tough with the Legislature and treat the state "just like any other intransigent litigant."

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature in mid-July.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

AB 1787 (Tanner). Requires automobile manufacturers to either replace a new vehicle or reimburse the buyer if a defect is not repaired within four attempts or if the car is out of service for more than 20 days. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

AB 2007 (Rosenthal). Prohibits insurance companies from using a person's occupation as a determining factor when setting automobile insurance rates. (Senate Insurance and Indemnity Committee)

SB 433 (Robbins). Requires dispute to be submitted to mediation when insurance company and automobile repair facility cannot agree on the nature and extent of repairs to be done or the costs thereof. (Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee)

COURTS

AB 1538 (Harris). Authorizes the creation of 15 new judgeships in the state's five courts of appeal. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

AB 246 (Goggin). Enacts Emergency Law Enforcement Funding Act of 1981 to finance, by means of a 1 percent sales tax increase, the development of community crime prevention programs, the construction and maintenance of local correctional facilities and grants for state and local criminal justice agencies. (On Assembly floor)

AB 277 (Goggin). Requires preliminary hearings to be open to the public unless the defendant's right to a fair trial would be impaired. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

AB 788 (Martinez). Makes it a felony to carry as a weapon a knife or other stabbing instrument capable of inflicting death or great bodily injury, and provides for the funding of gang violence suppression units within district attorneys' offices. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

AB 1210 (Harris). Allows prisoners to be assigned to the correctional institution nearest their home or families. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

AB 1675 (Alatorre). Makes it a crime to sell to minors containers of aerosol paint larger than 6 ounces, and prohibits minors from possessing such aerosol paint containers. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

SB 267 (Watson). Permits the issuance of civil injunctions to prevent imminent and unlawful infliction of bodily injury or death, and would make it a crime to commit specified acts of terrorism on private property. (Assembly Criminal Justice Committee)

SCA 10 (Presley). Constitutional amendment requiring judges to consider the public's protection, the previous criminal record of the defendant and other factors in determining whether or not to grant bail. (Assembly Criminal Justice Committee)

EMPLOYMENT

AB 997 (Alatorre). Prohibits employers from requiring employees to be tested by truth and deception verification devices such as written tests, voice stress analyzers and psychological stress evaluators as a condition of employment. (Senate Industrial Relations Committee)

AB 1748 (Harris). Extends period of time in which to file a complaint of housing discrimination with the Fair Employment and Housing Commission, revises the amount of damages which may be awarded to an aggrieved person, and revises the prohibition against job discrimination based on physical handicap. (Senate Industrial Relations Committee)

SB 40 (Vuich). Changes requirements for membership in a farm labor union so that employers could not discriminate against farmworkers who are not members of a union and neither could labor organizations. (Assembly Labor and Employment Committee)

FAMILY LAW

AB 2135 (Konnyu). Authorizes a court to order a party requesting spousal support to submit to an examination by a vocational training consultant. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

AB 2202 (Imbrecht). Repeals existing definition of joint custody in child custody actions and instead provides for "physical custody," "joint physical custody," "legal custody," and "joint legal custody." (Assembly Judiciary Committee)

HEALTH AND WELFARE

AB 251 (Vasconcellos). Tightens Medi-Cal eligibility requirements, enacts a Medi-Cal copayment system, and specifies requirements for the formulation of reimbursement rates for physician, laboratory and inpatient hospital services. (Signed by governor)

AB 603 (Duffy). Authorizes a court to grant to a conservator the power to consent to the sterilization of incompetent adults or emancipated minors who are unable to give informed consent. (Assembly passed; not yet assigned to Senate committee)

AB 610 (Berman). Requires persons to be given access to their medical records and permits health care providers to charge reasonable costs for copying such records. (Senate Health and Welfare Committee)

SB 946 (Davis). Requires Department of Health Services to maintain an abortion reporting system and require physicians to report all abortions performed and to provide other information. (Assembly Health Committee)

HOUSING

AB 650 (Bane). Permits state-chartered banks and savings and loan associations to make home loans at variable interest rates. (Senate Finance Committee)

AB 714 (Roos). Makes credit reports on individuals which are used in establishing a consumer's eligibility for property rental or leasing subject to the same requirements as to disclosure and reporting as other types of consumer credit reports. (Senate Judiciary Committee)

TAXATION

AB 130 (Vasconcellos). Requires employers with 50 or more employees to make personal income-tax withholding payments to the state on a semi-weekly basis and increases estimated insurance tax and bank and corporation tax prepayments. (Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee)

AB 384 (Hannigan). Makes corporate officers and major stockholders of corporations personally liable for the payment of sales and use taxes to the state. (Senate Finance Committee)

TRANSPORTATION

SB 215 (Foran). Provides for a 2-cent per gallon increase in the gasoline tax, and increases truck weight fees, vehicle registration fees, and driver's license fees to finance highway construction. (Assembly Ways and Means Committee)

WORKERS' COMPENSATION

SB 995 (Boatwright)/AB 2065 (Nolan). Preserves the exclusive-remedy doctrine under workers' compensation law which prohibits civil actions by injured employees against employers apart from the filing of a worker's compensation claim. (Both measures are pending in the Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee.)

AB 2031 (Berman). Modifies exclusive-remedy doctrine under the workers' compensation system by permitting injured employees to sue their employers for injuries or death under specified circumstances. (Assembly Judiciary Committee)

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By Leo Rennert

A bloody business

It's a political melodrama that pops up every 10 years, replete with fiendish plots, a villian around every bend and plenty of corpses before the final curtain. Civilized behavior is swamped by raw, primitive emotions. Power is the end, and the means are not pretty. Each player tries to carve up his neighbor while gripped by the nightmarish thought that he himself is about to be stabbed in the back. There are no tickets for sale on Broadway, but it's the hit of the season on Capitol Hill and in most state capitals. Reapportionment of congressional and legislative districts is playing a long summer run. In sheer suspense and brutality, it makes Tip O'Neill's fight with Ronald Reagan look like a PTA skirmish.

IT'S A SHAME THE PUBLIC rarely gets a ringside seat to this great spectacle. Children, of course, should not be admitted. But for mature adults, it would be a smash. If Hollywood bought the script, it would have to be shown with an X-rating — or at least an R. Unfortunately, legislators are not eager to let the outside world witness this drama. They'd rather leave their constituents with the impression that they're spending these hot summer months balancing budgets and protecting widows. But if you peek behind the curtain of press releases and look beyond the *Congressional Record*, you quickly discover that reapportionment is Topic A in the cloakroom and corridors of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Carving new congressional districts to conform with the population numbers of the 1980 census has an extra dimension this time. Besides the usual scramble for individual survival and the partisan jockeying within the state delegations, there's growing recognition that the outcome of the current reapportionment fights could determine whether Democrats retain or lose control of the House next year. The 1980 Reagan landslide brought Republicans within striking distance; they need only a couple of dozen additional seats to take full command of the House in 1982. With the Senate likely to remain in GOP hands, a Republican House would seal the Democratic rout from all bastions of national power. As a result of the 1980 census, 17 congressional seats will be shifted from Frost Belt states in the East and the Midwest to Sun Belt states in the South and the West. Who wins and who loses as legislatures draw up new congressional-district maps in these states is the first act in the 1982 battle for the House. Well aware of these high stakes, the national committees of both parties already have poured extensive resources — computers, lawyers, consultants — into the fight.

To Democrats, who are looking for a comeback after their 1980 debacle, California is a particularly inviting battleground since their party controls the Legislature and the governor's office in Sacramento. If there's any partisan tinkering to be done with district boundaries in the nation's most populous state, Democrats are in a position to do it. California will gain two congressional seats next year and increase its representation in the House from 43 to 45. It has been targeted as one of two "must" states on the redistricting board at the Democratic National Committee. DNC strategists point out that in states which gain new congressional districts, Democrats control the reapportionment machinery in two — Florida, which picks up four seats, and California. To offset GOP advantages in other states, notably Pennsylvania and Indiana, Democrats must score a few extra points in places like California.

The battle for control of the California delegation is well under way. Democrats are out to fatten their current slim 22-21 majority margin; Republicans hope to limit the damage and to hang on to seats they captured in the last two congressional elections. California Democrats have ample gerrymandering opportunities — despite state and federal standards designed to curb raw partisan grabs. Besides grabbing off California's two new seats, Democrats can play with districts where Republican incumbents like Paul McCloskey and Barry Goldwater Jr. are leaving to run for the U.S. Senate. When the dust settles, Democrats hope to come out of the 1982 elections with a net gain of four seats in California and a 26-19 split of the delegation. Republicans will try to limit Democratic gains to the two new seats. The GOP seems ready to settle for a 24-21 Democratic margin that would protect all California Republican incumbents running for re-election.

The key California player is San Francisco Congressman Phil Burton, who's masterminding Democratic strategy. Burton relishes the intrigue and suspense of carving new districts that can doom or enhance many a political career. As a recognized expert in the art of redistricting (he can rattle off party registration figures from the remotest corner of California with computer-like precision), he commands respect, if not admiration, on both sides of the aisle. When the Democratic Legislature gets down to the formal business of enacting a congressional redistricting bill, most of the advance decisions will have been made by Burton.

THE BROAD OUTLINES of his plan are fairly well known — a new Democratic district in the San Diego area plus another in the San Joaquin Valley for Democratic Assemblyman Richard Lehman. In Los Angeles County, another Democratic assemblyman, Mel Levine, may get a district at the expense of GOP Congressman Bob Dornan. Howard Berman, who lost the Assembly speakership fight to Willie Brown, may run for Congress in an area now represented by GOP first-termer Bobbi Fiedler. To keep her House seat, Fiedler may have to run in Goldwater's district. Democrat Richard Alatorre, chairman of the Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee, may get a Chicano congressional seat by the simple expedient of a state judicial appointment for Democratic Congressman George Danielson. In Northern California, one of Burton's main preoccupations is to carve up a safer district for his younger brother, Democrat John Burton.

Republicans are not the only ones unhappy with Burton's Byzantine machinations. A few Democrats in the congressional delegation, including Tony Beilenson of Beverly Hills, complain that Burton is dangerously thinning out their own base of support in his eagerness to reward special friends and to increase the number of Democratic districts. Republicans are counting on Democratic defections from Burton to improve their prospects. Both sides are slashing away at close quarters and it's bound to get bloodier.

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We've moved

(but we're still near the Capitol)

On July 17th, the *California Journal* moved from its home of 10 years to larger quarters at 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento — a few blocks directly east of the state Capitol.

The old *Journal* building on 10th Street is being demolished by the city-state Capitol Area Development Authority to make room for a housing development.

The telephone number remains the same: (916) 444-2840.

We share our new building with Argus Books, a firm specializing in publications and graphics on California history. Herb Caplan, owner of Argus Books, has decided to operate a mail-order business and occupies the rear portion of the structure, which he owns.

Journal readers are welcome to visit our new home and examine our expanded selection of books on California politics and government — some one-of-a-kind items being sold in conjunction with Argus Books.

Hereafter, please address all orders for subscriptions, books and pamphlets to the *California Journal* at 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

The best reformers the world has ever seen are those who commence on themselves.

— George Bernard Shaw

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